

THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE IN HAUSA

Thesis

submitted for the Ph.D. degree
of the University of London

by

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JULY 1969



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ABSTRACT

The thesis describes the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase, its constituent elements, their role in the Simple Nominal Phrase and their relationship to each other.

In the first section, the Simple Nominal Phrase is distinguished from other types of Nominal Phrase, and shown to be analysable in terms of a Head, pre-Head Qualifiers, and post-Head Qualifiers. The various types of item - both adverbial and non-adverbial - which can occur in Nominal Phrases are then described in terms of their own structure and their possible occurrence in the Simple Nominal Phrase, as Head or as pre-Head or post-Head Qualifier or as both.

The second section is concerned, first, with Nominal Phrases consisting of Head alone, and then with the possible combinations of various types of Qualifier and of Head, and the co-occurrence in a single Nominal Phrase of various types of Qualifier. Attention is given first to pre-Head Qualifiers, then to post-Head Qualifiers, and then to the co-occurrence - both optional and necessary - of pre-Head and post-Head Qualifiers. The possibility of accumulation of Qualifiers in a single Nominal Phrase is also considered, and the sequential order of their occurrence.

The third section examines the operation of Gender and of Number agreements within the Simple Nominal Phrase, and the possibility of interrupting the continuity of Simple Nominal Phrase by certain extraneous items.

In addition to specific conclusions on the role of various types of item and their combination, co-occurrence and accumulation, the general conclusion is reached, that analysis in terms of a Head and pre-Head and post-Head Qualifiers facilitates the description of the Simple Nominal Phrase, its constituent elements and their relationship to one another.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis has been made possible by the opportunities provided me by the former Northern Nigerian Scholarship Board and, subsequently, by the Kano State Scholarship Board. I am extremely grateful to both bodies for their financial support. I am also profoundly grateful to the Ahmadu Bello University, Nigeria, which gave me an Assistant Lectureship for the period of this study.

I should also like to express my deep indebtedness^b to my supervisor, Professor D.W. Arnott, at present Acting Head of the Department of Africa, School of Oriental and African Studies, for his most helpful criticism, his valuable comment, and his constant encouragement and advice, which he has so unhesitatingly given me at all stages of this work. My sincere appreciation and gratitude are also due to Mr. F.W. Parsons, not only for his very many helpful suggestions, but also for the kind interest he has always taken in this research^r. I have also benefited greatly from discussions with Dr. N.V. Smith, and should like to express my thanks to him.

Of great help, too, were the lectures given by members of the staff of both the Department of Africa and the Department of General Linguistics and Phonetics of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abl.Part.	- Ablative Particle
Abs.	- Abstract Noun
Adj.Cx.	- Adjectival Complex
Adj.Ph.	- Adjectival Phrase
Adv.Cl.	- Adverbial Cluster
Adv.Cpd.	- Adverbial Compound
Adv.Cx.	- Adverbial Complex
Adv.Deg.	- Adverb of Degree
Adv.Ph.	- Adverbial Phrase
Agt.Adj.	- Agential Adjective
Agt.Cop.	- Agential Copula
App.	- Appendix
C.	- Consonant
Chp.	- Chapter
Cpd.Nn.	- Compound Noun
Dem.	- Demonstrative
Dim.	- Diminutive
Diss.Part.	- Dissociative Particle
Disj.	- Disjunctive Pronoun
Dyn.	- Dynamic Noun
Eq.Part.	- Equative Particle
Fem.	- Feminine Gender
Gem.Adj.	- Geminate Adjective
Hd.	- Head
Ideo.	- Ideophone

Indef.	- Indefinite
Indet.Q.	- Indeterminate Qualifier
Inst.Part.	- Instrumental Particle
Int.	- Interrogative
I.P.H.Q.	- Immediate Post-Head Qualifier
Is.	- Isolator
Lg.Dem.	- Long Demonstrative
Lg.Gen.	- Long Genitival Complex
Lg.Pos.	- Long Possessive
L.	- Locative category
Loc.	- Locative category
Loc.Part.	- Locative Particle
Masc.	- Masculine Gender
M.	- Modal category
Mod.	- Modal category
Mod.Part.	- Modal Particle
Nn.	- Noun
Non-Dyn.	- Non-Dynamic Noun
NP	- Simple Nominal Phrase
Ptpl.Adj.	- Participial Adjective
Pl.	- Plural
Pr.	- Pronoun
Prop.	- Proper Noun
Part.	- Particle
Ql.	- Qualifier
Qt.	- Quantifier

Redp.	- Reduplicated Adverb
Ref.	- Referential
Rel.	- Relative Clause
Sg.	- Singular number
Sing.	- Singular number
Sh.Dem.	- Short Demonstrative Specifier
Sh.Gen.	- Short Genitival Complex
Sh.Pos.	- Short Possessive
Soc.	- Sociative category
Soc.Part.	- Sociative Particle
Spec.	- Specifier
Simp.Adj.	- Simple Adjective
Simp.Adv.	- Simple Adverb
Stab.	- Stabilizer
St.	- Stative category
Stat.	- Stative category
T.	- Temporal category
Temp.	- Temporal category
Unit.Adj.	- Unitary Adjective
Unit.Adv.	- Unitary Adverb
V.	- Vowel
Via.	- Viative
Via.Part.	- Viative Particle

- ˥ - High tone (where z is any tone-bearing segment)
- ˩ - Low tone (where z is any tone bearing segment)
- * - ungramatical (or of doubtful grammaticality)
- ? - interrogative mark
- - used to draw attention to I.P.H.Q.
- + - plus
- [] - used to enclose glosses
- () - used to enclose optional element(s)
- = - used to draw attention to the glosses

INTRODUCTION

The systematic study of Hausa has a history that is now more than one hundred years old, Schön's "Grammar of the Hausa Language" having been published in 1862.⁽¹⁾ This has been followed at intervals by a number of other grammars, which have led to the intensive study of Hausa conducted by modern scholars, in particular by Mr. F.W. Parsons⁽²⁾ to whose deep knowledge of the language I owe an immense debt.

These grammars have inevitably described some of the combinations which go to make up what is here called the Nominal Phrase, such as the combination of Noun with Adjective, Noun with Demonstrative, Noun with Possessive, etc. Charles H. Kraft, in particular, has dealt with the Nominal Phrase

(1) Rev. J.F. Schön's Grammar of the Hausa language London, Church Missionary House, 1862.

(2) See F.W. Parson's:

- (a) Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality and their Derivatives in Hausa, *Afrikanistische Studien*, ed. L. Lukas Berlin, 1955.
- (b) The verbal system in Hausa. *Afr. u. Übersee*, 44, 1, September 1960, 1 - 36.
- (c) An introduction to gender in Hausa. *Afr. Language Stud.*, 1, 1960, 117-136.
- (d) The operation of gender in Hausa: the personal pronouns and genitive copula. *Afr. language Stud.*, No.2, 1961, 100-124.
- (e) The operation of gender in Hausa: stabilizer, dependent nominals and qualifiers. *Afr. language Stud.*, No.4, 1963, 166-207.
- (f) Further observations on the 'causative' grade of the verb in Hausa. *J. Afr. languages*, 1, 3, 1962, 253-272.

and some of its possible realisations at greater length than most;⁽¹⁾ but there has been no full systematic study of the Nominal Phrase as a whole, covering all the various possibilities and questions of possible co-occurrence. This thesis attempts to carry the investigation a stage further.

The thesis is limited to the study of the Simple Nominal Phrase, although a brief reference to other types of Nominal Phrase is made in Chapter 1. It has three main sections consisting of fifteen chapters in all.

Section I deals with the nature of the Simple Nominal Phrase and its constituent elements, the first chapter being introductory and distinguishing the Simple NP from the other more complex types of Nominal Phrase. Chapters 2 and 3 describe the various types of item which occur in the Simple NP. Chapter 4 discusses the parts that individual items can play within the Simple NP.

Section II deals with the structure of the Simple NP. Chapter 5 illustrates the various types of Simple NP, based on the nature of the Head. In Chapters 6 - 11, all the possible combinations and co-occurrences are discussed.

Section III considers other aspects of the Nominal Phrase not covered in the first two sections. The operation of gender and of number agreement are discussed in chapters 12 and 13

(1) See Charles H. Kraft's "A study of Hausa syntax". 3 vols.
1. Structure. 2. Function words. 3. Texts. Hartford Seminary Foundation, Dept. of Linguistics.

respectively. Chapter 14 deals with the possibility of interruption of the Simple NP by certain extraneous items.

Chapter 15 presents the conclusions of the thesis.

The system of transcription used in the thesis, as far as consonants are concerned, follows the standard orthography; but to represent the vowel length accurately, the method of double vowelising for the long-vowel is adopted. Vowels are tone-marked in all the examples given in the thesis, and it has been found sufficient to tone-mark only the first vowel of each pair where long-vowels are involved, except in the case of a 'falling' tone. Both Compound Nouns and Adverbial Compound are, contrary to the standard orthography, hyphenated. Throughout the thesis, abbreviations are used extensively in referring to items which occur within the Nominal Phrase; and a list of the abbreviations and symbols used is given at the beginning of the thesis.

The thesis is concerned only with the Kano dialect, which was adopted by the Gaskiya Corporation as the standard form of Hausa for publication purposes. It is based mainly on my own speech, as a native of Kano, but a large number of printed Hausa texts have also been examined to check the accuracy of this description.

THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE AND ITS
CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS

CHAPTER 1

THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The term 'Nominal Phrase' is used here to refer to the grammatical unit that can function either as subject or as direct object of a verb in a Hausa sentence. The subject occurs immediately before the verb and controls both Gender and Number agreements of the pronominal prefix in the 'Verbal Phrase' (description of which is outside the scope of this thesis). The direct object occurs after the C form of a Grade 1 or Grade 2 verb⁽¹⁾. Any item or combination of items treated as a Nominal Phrase in this thesis, therefore, can play one of these syntactic roles.

In describing the structure of the Nominal Phrase in Hausa, experience has shown that it can be analysed in terms of a 'Head' and 'Qualifiers'. The Head is the nucleus of each Nominal Phrase, the pillar against which all the Qualifiers are assembled. Every Nominal Phrase in Hausa contains either one Head or more than one, and it is on this basis that the distinction is made between the 'Simple Nominal Phrase' and other types of Nominal Phrase.

There are at least four different types of Nominal Phrase in Hausa:

(1) See F. W. Parsons' classification of the Hausa verbs (PER) Afrika und Ubersee 44.1 (1960)

- (a) Appositional Nominal Phrase
- (b) Serial Nominal Phrase
- (c) Clausal Nominal Phrase
- and (d) Simple Nominal Phrase

Detailed discussion of the structure of the first three of these types of Nominal Phrase is outside the scope of this thesis. It is sufficient to give some examples of each of them for the purpose of contrast, and to consider very generally some of their main features:

1.1

APPOSITIONAL NOMINAL PHRASE

The Appositional Nominal Phrase contains two Heads with nothing linking them together. e.g.

- (a) àlkáalíí máalám Bàláa = [the judge, Malam Bala]
- (b) úwár-gídáa Láadi = [the senior wife, Ladi]
- (c) Alí sárkín-kàasúwáa = [Ali, the market inspector]

1.2

SERIAL NOMINAL PHRASE

The Serial Nominal Phrase contains two or more Heads linked together by one of the two 'Conjunctive Particles': dà = [and] or kóo = [or]. e.g.

- (a) (yáa àrí) riigáa dà hùuláa = [(he has borrowed) a gown and a hat]
- (b) Bàláa dà Inúu dà Alí (sún zóo) = [Bala, Inu and Ali (have come)]
- (c) (àikí) Bàláa kóo Inúu = [(send) Bala or Inu]
- (d) Bàláa kóo Láadi kóo Alí (súnàa zúwàa) = [Bala, Ladi or Ali (is coming)]

It is also possible for the Conjunctive Particles to occur initially as well as between the Heads. e.g:

- (a) dà Alí dà Bàláa (sún zóo) = ^{both} [Ali and Bala (have come)]
 (b) (àikí) kóo Alí kóo Bàláa = [(send) either Ali or Bala]

1.3

CLAUSAL NOMINAL PHRASE

This type of Nominal Phrase has one or more clauses as its Head. e.g:

One Clause as Head

- (a) záa sù gáyàa wà 'yán-gáadii dà kákèe fàdàa (bàa tàa tsóoràtáa shí)
 [that they will tell the police, as you said (does not frighten him)]
- (b) bà sù zóo báàh dà yá jí (ítá tá báatàa māsà ráì)
 [that they did not come, which he understood (is what depresses him)]

More than one Clause as Head

- (a) sún gámàa sún bār mù (bà tà dàamée nī bá)
 [that they have finished ahead of us (does not bother me)]
- (b) súnàa zúwàa súnàa dílibàa (bàa ítà tá fí báa nī háushíi bá)
 [that they (often) come and take some (of it) (is not what annoys me most)]

1.4

SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The fourth type, the Simple Nominal Phrase ('SNP', sometimes to be referred to simply as a Nominal Phrase or 'NP'), contains only one Head. It may also contain one or more Qualifiers, but these are, unlike the Head, all optional. The Head is the only obligatory element in the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase, and it can be any of the various items which are described in detail in Chapter 2 and 3.⁽¹⁾ The Head may or may not be accompanied by various Qualifiers which can be either unitary or complex in structure, and which can be either in pre-Head or in post-Head position, or both. The items which can function as Qualifiers are also discussed in detail in Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

-
- (1) In order to keep this thesis within reasonable limits, it has been found necessary to ignore Nominal Phrases which can be treated as Simple Nominal Phrases, in that they have a single Head, but where the Head is itself an NP of one of the various types described in this thesis. It is sufficient to note here that such NP's, the structure of which involves "nesting" are of common occurrence in Hausa; but it seems likely that they involve no more than a compounding of the patterns described here. "Nesting" is also a possibility in the case of some types of Qualifier, though this is usually apparent from the description of Qualifier in question (Genitival, Adjectival, and Adverbial Complexes, Adjectival Phrase, Relative Clause, and Adverbial Compound).

As has been stated at the beginning of this Chapter, the Simple Nominal Phrase can occur as Subject of a Verbal Phrase or as Object of the C form of ^aGrade 1 or Grade 2 verb. This may be illustrated by the following examples, where the NP in question is underlined: e.g.,

Subject

- (a) Bàláa yáa zóo = [Bala has come]
 (b) littáafi→h Bàláa yáa bátà = [Bala's book has got lost]
littáafi→h Bàláa nèe yá bátà = [it is Bala's book that
 is missing]
 (c) wání fàrín littáafii ná Bàláa yáa bátà = [a certain white
 book of Bala's has got lost]

Object

- (a) yáa sàyi littáafii = [he has bought a book]
 (b) yáa sàyi littáafi→h Bàláa = [he has bought Bala's book]
 (c) yáa sàyi wání fàrín littáafii ná Bàláa = [he has bought
 a certain white book belonging to Bala]

The following frames could also be used for the identification of the Simple Nominal Phrase:

Object:

- (a) bàn bār {^{kóowáa}_{kóomái}} à gidáa bá sái.....^{NP}
 [I left nobody/nothing at home except^{NP}]

Subject:

- (a) báà wáàdà yá (verb) sái^{NP}
 [no one/nothing (verb) except^{NP}]

1.5 The main concern of this thesis is the Simple Nominal Phrase, and further reference to all other types of Nominal Phrase is unnecessary. An attempt is made to cover everything that occurs within the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase, the chief exception being the negative extension of the NP, on which further research is still required. An example of such a negative extension would be:

bàa jàakí-ń Báláa bá = [not Bala's donkey]

in:

littáafi-ń Láadī nēe yá átà bàa jàakí-ń Báláa bá

[it is Ladi's book that is missing not Bala's donkey]

Before describing the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase, it is necessary to list and describe the various types of item which can occur in various positions within the NP. This is done in the next two chapters.

In exemplifying NP's in subsequent chapters, the NP's alone will normally be given without citing possible frames of the kind given above, except in certain cases where questions might arise either as to the possibility of their occurrence in natural discourse or as to their unity and validity as NP's.

CHAPTER 2

THE NON-ADVERBIAL CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE
SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The constituent elements of the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase are of two main types, Adverbial and Non-Adverbial. (Adverbial items can occur in Adjunct position as well as in subject or object positions, whereas Non-Adverbial items normally cannot.) In this Chapter, all the Non-Adverbial items occurring in the Simple Nominal Phrase are introduced, with descriptions of their main structural features and an account of such sub-types as are relevant to the theme of this thesis. A list of these items is given first, followed by their descriptions:

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>ABBREVIATION</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
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2.1

NOUN

A simple morphological distinction, of relevance to the consideration of Gender and Number in section III, can be made between:

- (a) the great majority of Nouns consisting of a stem and a suffix which may vary for Number, and sometimes also for Gender. e.g:

<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>GLOSS</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>	<u>GLOSS</u>
wàndóo	= [trousers]	wándúnàa	= [trousers]
káuyèe	= [village]	káuyúkàa	= [villages]
hánnúu	= [hand]	hánnúwaa	= [hands]
ráanáa	= [day]	ràanàkúu	= [days]
góonáa	= [farm]	gdonàkíi	= [farms]
wátàa	= [month]	wàtànníi	= [months]

Masculine Femenine

tsúntsúu	tsúntsúwáa	= [bird]	tsúntsàayée	= [birds]
záakíi	záakányàa	= [lion]	záakóokíi	= [lions]
àbóokíi	àbóokiyáa	= [friend]	àbòokái	= [friends]

In other cases the stem and suffix can be isolated by comparison with other related forms, e.g:

kárfíi = [strength], kàkkàrfáa/kárfàafáa = [strong]
 tsáwóo = [length], tsáwàitáa = [lengthen]

- (b) Some Nouns consisting of a stem but having no overt suffix; nevertheless a zero suffix can be postulated on the basis of morphological alternation. e.g:

<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>GLOSS</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>	<u>GLOSS</u>
baasukur	= [Bicycle]	báasúkúróoríi	= [bicycles]
kwáf	= [cup]	kwáfóofíi	= [cups]
táawùl	= [towel]	táawúlóolíi	= [towels]
cf. góoràa	= [bamboo]	góoróoríi	= [bamboos]
kóofàa	= [door]	kóofóofíi	= [doors]
móotàa	= [car]	móotóocíi	= [cars]
táasàa	= [brass-bowl]	táasóoshíi	= [brass-bowls]

(c) and a relatively small number of Nouns, which cannot be analysed on purely morphological grounds. Many of these are Proper Nouns. e.g:

Áudù, Báláa, Bínúwàì, Jábà, Láadì, etc.

Others are Collective, Mass, or Abstract Nouns such as:

kúdíi = [money], mádàráa = [milk], tàusàyíi = [pity]

These do not have corresponding plural forms. The full details of the singular/plural and masculine/feminine alternations are not relevant here, though some reference to the masculine/feminine alternations is made in Chapter 12.

For the purpose of this thesis, a further distinction also needs to be made on syntactic grounds between two main types of noun, for which the terms 'Dynamic Noun' and 'Non-Dynamic Noun' may be used. The distinction between these two types is based on their syntactic behaviour as described at various points in

this thesis, especially in Chapter 11; but their different behaviour within the Simple Nominal Phrase is paralleled by the following other grammatical differences:

2.1.1

Dynamic Noun

Dynamic Nouns⁽¹⁾ have the following characteristics:

- (a) They cannot⁽²⁾ be immediately preceded by a verb other than an Indeterminate Verb⁽³⁾ such as iyà = [can, be able to].
e.g.

- (i) yáa iyà màgánàa = [he can talk]
- (ii) tǎa iyà háihùwáa = [her offspring are praiseworthy]
- (iii) sún iyà gyáaráa = [they are good repairers]

- (b) They can occur in the frame '----- ná kèe (yíí)' where yíí is optional. e.g.

- (i) bíí ná kèe (yíí) = [revision I am doing]
- (ii) báccíí ná kèe (yíí) = [sleeping I am doing]
- (iii) fítáa ná kèe (yíí) = [going out I am doing]

(1) Semantically, such nouns refer to an action or a process.

(2) Except in such figurative expressions as:

- (i) gáníí yáa kòorí jíí = [seeing is believing]
- (ii) yáa máidà áikíí wàasáa = [he regards work as his hobby]

(3) I am indebted to Mr. F.W. Parsons for this term which covers a group of verbs including: fáarà = [start], tábà = [do once] díngà = [continue doing], ríkà = [do repeatedly], gámà = [finish]

- (c) They nearly all have plural forms of a distinctive reduplicated pattern with -e suffixes, not found with Non-Dynamic Nouns. e.g:

- (i) gyàaré-gyàaré = [putting things in order]
- (ii) fìcé-fìcé = [going out too much]
- (iii) kàrbé-kàrbé = [too many receipts]

As regards their internal structure, Dynamic Nouns are of two sub-types, 'Non-Verbal Dynamic Nouns' and 'Verbal Dynamic Nouns', which also behave differently in some respects within the Simple Nominal Phrase (see Chapter 11).

2.1.1.1

Non-Verbal Dynamic Nouns

The Non-Verbal Dynamic Nouns are those which do not share common stems with verbs. e.g:

- | | | | |
|----------|---------------|--------|-----------------------|
| báccíi | = [sleeping], | fúshíi | = [angar] |
| dàaríyáa | = [laughing] | káaráa | = [squeak, complaint] |

There are no verbs having stems bacc-, daar- or daariy-, fus- and kaar-, and a relatable meaning. (The verbal stem fusaat- = [be angry] is itself derived from, not identical with, the stem fús- of fúshíi = [anger].)

2.1.1.2

Verbal Dynamic Nouns

The Verbal Dynamic Nouns, on the other hand, are those which do share common stems with verbs. e.g.

gyáaráa	= [repairing]	sáakàa	= [weaving]
káamùu	= [catching]	tàmbáyàa	= [asking]

Each of the above shares a common stem with a verb, with corresponding meaning, as in the following Verbal Phrases:

<u>yáa gyáaràa</u>	= [he repaired (it)]
<u>yáa káamà</u> Bàráawò	= [he caught (a thief)]
<u>táa sáakàa</u>	= [she wove (it)]
<u>sún tàmbáyàa</u>	= [they asked]

The verbal Dynamic Nouns may be further divided into two categories, 'Weak' and 'Strong' Verbal Dynamic Nouns. This distinction is basically a morphological one, but has syntactic significance within the Simple Nominal Phrase (see for example page 199, 11.1 (B)).

Weak Verbal Dynamic Noun

The general characteristics of Weak Verbal Dynamic Nouns are that:

- (a) either they have suffix -wáa, e.g.

káshèewáa	= [killing]
gyáaràawáa	= [repairing]
mántáawáa	= [forgetting]

- (b) or they are identical with the pre-object or pre-dative forms of the corresponding verbs, with the same extension possibilities as those verbal forms. e.g:

káshè máciijíi = [killing ^a(snake)]
káshèe shí = [killing (it)]
káshèe māsà máciijíi = [killing(a snake for him)]

Since the syntax of such pre-object or pre-dative forms of the Weak Verbal Dynamic Nouns is, in many respects, identical with that of the homonymous finite verbal forms, and is a feature of their verbal rather than their nominal nature, their behaviour is not dealt with in this thesis, except as regards gender.

Strong Verbal Dynamic Noun

Strong Verbal Dynamic Nouns, on the other hand, do not have suffix -wáa, nor are they, in most cases, identical with the pre-object or pre-dative forms of the corresponding verbs. e.g:

fitáa = [getting out], hàfiyàa = [swallowing]
 kàrbáa = [receiving] sáakàa = [weaving]

2.1.2

Non-Dynamic Noun

The general characteristics of Non-Dynamic Nouns are the following:

- (a) They can be immediately preceded by a variety of verbs other than an Indeterminate Verb. Some (mainly Abstract Nouns) can also follow an Indeterminate Verb.⁽¹⁾ e.g.

(i) Indeterminate Verb:

+ Abs.: rúwàh yáa cíkà záaffi

[the water is too hot]

kásàashén túurái bàsù íyà sányíi bá

[European countries can be very cold]

(ii) Other Verbs:

+ Abs.: dà kún gá háskée sái kù fítóo

[come out as soon as you see the light]

Bàlāa yáa sàamí gírmāa

[Bala has acquired prestige]

+ Other Nouns: dà kún gá mùtúm sái kù fítóo

[come out as soon as you see somebody]

Bàlāa yáa sàamí dóokli

[Bala has acquired a horse]

- (b) They do not⁽¹⁾ normally occur in the frame '-----na kee (yii)'
e.g. *ràagóo ná kèe (yii), *Bàlāa ná kèe (yii), *záaffi ná kèe (yii)

(1) There are certain cases where Nouns which normally behave as Non-Dynamic Nouns occur (i) immediately after an Indeterminate Verb, and/or (ii) in the frame '-----ná kèe (yii)', e.g. yáa íyà dóokli = [he can ride a horse], or kújèeráa ná kèe (yii) = [chair I am making], where, semantically, they are used to refer to an action or a process rather than anything concrete. In such context, they are to be regarded as Dynamic Nouns.

- (c) They do not have plural forms of the distinctive reduplicated pattern with -e suffixes found with the Dynamic Nouns.

2.1.2.1 Non-Dynamic Nouns can be further subdivided in a variety of ways, but the only sub-types relevant to this thesis are the following (which are not necessarily mutually exclusive):

Abstract Noun (cf. pp. 115, 116) e.g.

gírmáa = [prestige]
mùgùntáa = [wickedness]

Proper Noun (cf. pp. 115, 116) e.g.

Bàláa = [Bala]
Kándo = [Kano]

Collective Noun (cf. pp. 257, 263) e.g.

kúdfi = [money]
àyàbà = [bananas]

Mass Noun (cf. pp. 257, 263) e.g.

mádáráa = [milk]
náamàa = [meat]

Common Noun (though it is not specifically mentioned, a great number of examples of Common Noun are used) e.g.

dóokli = [horse]
riigáa = [gown]

2.2

COMPOUND NOUN

Compound Nouns have a structure identical with, or closely resembling, that of a phrase - Nominal Phrase or Verbal Phrase. But they are distinguished from the phrase by behaving within the Simple Nominal Phrase as a single, invariable and indivisible unit, with virtually the same syntactic behaviour as a Noun.

There are three main structural types which also have different syntactic behaviour; the main component element of each may be called the 'Core' in comparison with the 'Head' in a Simple Nominal Phrase. viz.:

- I. Noun-Based Compound
- II. Verb-Based Compound
- III. Ideophone-Based Compound

2.2.1

I. Noun-Based Compound

The Noun-based Compound Nouns are those which have a structure comparable to that of an NP in which the Head is a Noun⁽¹⁾ (see Chapter 5, 5.1). In the Compound Noun, the core, which corresponds to the Noun Head, is also a Noun. There are four sub-types which are also syntactically significant (see Tables 2 - 8).

(1) Or occasionally an Adjective (see footnote (1) in page 32).

- (b) Non-Dynamic: rligár-rúwáa = [rain-coat,
lit. gown of rain/water]
táurín-kál = [stubbornness,
lit. hardness of head]

2.2.1.3

I.C. Noun + Adverbial Complex (d)

Sub-type (C) are those which consist of a Noun core followed by an Adverbial Complex (d) (see 3.3). The Noun core can be of either Dynamic or Non-Dynamic types. e.g.

- (a) Dynamic: yáakii-dà-jáahílcii= [adult education,
lit. war with ignorance]
(b) Non-Dynamic:⁽¹⁾ bàbbáa-dà-jàkàa = [marabou,
lit. a big one with a bag]

2.2.1.4

I.D. Adjective + Adjectival Link + Noun

Sub-type (D) are those which consist of a Noun core preceded by an Adjective accompanied by its Adjectival Link.⁽²⁾ (see 4.4.3.)

- e.g. fárár-wútáa = [sulphur, lit. white fire]
bákín-jínfi = [unpopularity, lit. black blood]

(1) In this case, the core is an Adjective. In view of this, it would be more accurate to speak of Nominal-based rather than Noun-based Compound Nouns; but such forms are very rare as contrasted with those having a Noun core.

(2) The distinction between this type of Cpd.Nn. and the homophonous NP is that, while another Adjective can occur between Noun Head and the Adjectival Link in the NP (e.g. bàbbán jáahilín dán Bàlálá = [the big ignorant son of Bala]), nothing can occur between the component parts of the Cpd.Nn., due to the existence of a close nexus between them. Thus no other Adjective can occur in such Cpd.Nn. as bàbbán-dáa = [eldest son].

2.2.2

II Verb-Based Compound

The Verb-Based Compound Nouns are those which have verbs as the core in the compound. There are three sub-types, which^{are} also syntactically significant within the SNP.

Imperative Type

Anomalous Type

Finite Verbal Type

2.2.2.1

II.A Imperative Type

The Imperative Type is that in which the verb core is identical with the Imperative form of the verb. e.g:

- (i) rùudà-kùyàngí = [redness of the sky just before sunset,
lit. bewilder the slave-girl]
- (ii) tàyáa-ní-múunì = [pattern tattooed on the cheek,
lit. help me (to look) ugly]
- (iii) bàn-ní-dà-múugùu= [carbuncle,
lit. leave me with the evil one]
- (iv) fàadí-kà-mútù = [chinaware,
lit. fall to the ground and die]

2.2.2.2

II.B Anomalous Type

The second sub-type of Verb-Based Compound Noun is that in which the verb is in an anomalous form, having long final vowel and all low tones. The verb is always of Grade 1, but it can either be followed by a Noun or a Simple Adverb (see 3.1) in the Compound. e.g:

- rìgàa-káfi = [precaution,
 lit. prevail before pegging]
 rùfàa-idó = [charm supposed to render one invisible,
 lit. shut the eye]
 tùmàa-kàsà = [leather cushion,
 lit. spring to the ground]

2.2.2.3 II.C. Finite Verbal Type

The third sub-type is that in which the verb is either in the 'Finite' or in the 'Continuous' form. e.g.

- káa-fi-dáa-wùyáa = [an orange-cornelian,
 lit. you are more difficult than a child]
 baa-kaa-zuwaa-koogii = [unwashable material,
 lit. you do not to the river]

2.2.3 III. Ideophone-Based Compound

The third type of Compound Noun is that in which Ideophones, or words of ideophonic structure, function as the core. e.g.

- fli-dà-sártsè = [euphorbia lateriflora]
 kyàl-kyàl-bánzá = [anything that appears to be more
 than what it^{is} actually worth]

This type of Compound Noun cannot be literally translated.

2.2.4 At another level, it would be possible to distinguish between Dynamic and Non-Dynamic Compound Noun^s; and again between Abstract, Proper and Collective Compound Nouns, but this differentiation does not seem to be relevant for the present purpose.

2.3

PRONOUNS

The pronominal forms described here do not include subject pronouns and object pronouns such as náa and shǐ in náa sán shǐ = [I have know/him], since these are considered as part of the Verbal Phrase and, therefore, beyond the scope of this thesis. Three types of Pronoun are distinguished, viz.:

Disjunctive Pronoun
Interrogative Pronoun
Indefinite Pronoun

These Pronouns are not analysable, but are described by listing as follows:

2.3.1

Disjunctive Pronoun

The Disjunctive Pronouns show syntactically significant variation according to Number, Person, and (in 2nd and 3rd Person singular) Gender:

	<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>
(a) 1st Person, -----	níi = [I]	múu = [we]
(b) <u>2nd Person</u> , <u>Masculine</u> :	kái = [you]	} kúu = [you]
<u>Feminine</u> :	kée = [you]	
<u>3rd Person</u> , <u>Masculine</u> :	shíi = [he/ it]	} súu = [they]
<u>Feminine</u> :	ítá = [she/ it]	

2.3.2

Interrogative Pronoun

The Interrogative Pronouns show syntactically significant variation according to Number, and are also differentiated according to whether the reference is General or Specific. In the case of the General Interrogative, there is no Gender distinction, but there are two separate Pronouns for Persons and Things. Gender distinction is shown in the case of the Specific Interrogative, the same form in each case being used to refer to both Persons and Things.:

	<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>P L U R A L</u>
<u>General</u> , <u>Persons</u> :	wàa = [who?/whom?]	sú wàa = [who?/whom?]
<u>Things</u> :	mèe = [what?]	----- (1)
<u>Specific</u> , <u>Masculine</u> :	wànnée = [which one?]	wàdànnée = [which ones?]
<u>Feminine</u> :	wàccée = [which one?]	

2.3.3

Indefinite Pronoun

The Indefinite Pronouns vary according to Number and Gender:

	<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>	
<u>Masculine</u> :	wáanè	sú wáanè	} = [so-and-so]
<u>Feminine</u> :	wáncè	sú wáncè	

-
- (1) It is questionable whether the form sú mèe = [such as what?, or what for instance?] is the true plural of mèe, since the form sú mèe is, normally, neither preceded nor followed by any item marked for Number.

2.4.3

Quantifier 3

Quantifier 3, which functions as a distributive, involves either complete or partial reduplication of Quantifier 1 or 2.

e.g.

- (a) Complete Reduplication: úkù-úkù = [three each]
 nàwà-nàwà = [how much each?]
- (b) Partial Reduplication: ɪshírín-dà-shídà-shídà
 [twenty-six each]

2.5

INDETERMINATE QUALIFIER

The Indeterminate Qualifier comprises only one word, viz.: kàzáa = [such and such], whose syntactic behaviour is the main basis for treating it separately.

2.6

GENITIVAL COMPLEX

Structurally, the Genitival Complex consists of two parts,
 (a) Link Element, followed by (b) a Nominal Phrase, e.g.

- (1) ná sárkíi = [belonging to the emir]
 (2) tá sɪlɪkɪ = [made of silk]
 or (3) -ń ráanáa = [of sun, (as in háské-ń ráanáa = sunshine)]

The main criterion for treating such items as a single unit are:

- (a) their indivisibility in the sense that the Link Element cannot be used apart from the following Nominal Phrase.

- (b) their inseparability in the sense that nothing can occur between the Link Element and the NP.

The Genitival Complex is of two structural types, which also have different syntactic behaviour: Long Genitival Complex and Short Genitival Complex. The Nominal Phrase which constitutes the second element in the structure of either type, can be any of the following items:

Noun	Long Possessive	Simple Adverb
Pronoun	Unitary Adjective	Adverbial Compound ^L
Compound Noun	Adjectival Phrase	Adverbial Complex (d)
Quantifier	Adjectival Complex	Adverbial Cluster
Specifier	Relative Clause (a)	Adverbial Phrase (a)
Indeterminate Qualifier		

or it may be a Nominal Phrase, as described in this thesis, having one of the above in Head position, or, in certain circumstances, a clause. For this last, see Chapter 11 (11.3).

2.6.1

Long Genitival Complex

The Long Genitival Complex has the following Link Elements:

- (a) ná which occurs with reference to Masculine Singular forms,
 (b) tá which occurs with reference to ⁱⁿFeminine Singular forms, and
 (c) ná which occurs with reference to Plural forms. e.g.

wání ná silíkli = [another (Masc.) one made of silk]
 wátá tá silíkli = [another (Fem.) one made of silk]
 wádánsú ná silíkli = [others (in plural) made of silk]

The main feature of these Link Elements is invariable High tone.

2.6.2

Short Genitival Complex

The Short Genitival Complex has the following Link Elements:

- (a) -n which occurs with reference to Masculine Singular forms,
- (b) -r which occurs with reference to Feminine Singular forms,
- (c) -n which occurs with reference to Plural forms. e.g.:

-n báayáa, as in: cíiwò-ñ báayáa = [back-ache]

-r wátàa, as in: tsáiwá-ř wátàa = [appearance of new moon]

-n Báláa, as in: dàwáakí-ñ Báláa = [Bala's horses]

The Link Element in this type has the same tone as that of the preceding syllable. If the final syllable of the preceding item is Low, as shown in the first of the three examples above, the Link Element also has Low tone; but if the preceding syllable has High-tone, as in the last two of the three examples above, the Link Element also has High-tone.

The second Link Element -r is sometimes assimilated, as in the following:

rīgá-ś sárkfi = [uniform]

móotà-t tálàkà = [poor man's car]

túrbà-č Cáláawáa = [Calawa road]

2.6.3 It is possible to distinguish between the various usages of Genitival Complex with different grammatical and semantic implications, e.g. subjective, objective, possessive, descriptive, etc., but these are not relevant here.

2.7

IDEOPHONE

In considering the Ideophone in Hausa, investigation has shown that what have sometimes been treated as Ideophones (on account of their anomalous phonological and/or tonological feature) do not belong to a single syntactical class, but cut across a number of different categories, in that the same individual Ideophones may have syntactic behaviour that is typical of, say, Dynamic Noun and of Simple Adverb. This cross-category behaviour, however, is itself distinctive, and it is therefore convenient to consider together under the heading of 'Ideophone' all those words which have such cross-category behaviour, often combined with anomalous phonological feature, as listed in Appendix A.

Their classification can be made in a variety of different ways; but, for the present purpose, it is appropriate to classify them in the first place on the basis of their syntactic behaviour, relegating to a lower level the phonological categories which are less relevant here; although there is, in fact, some correlation between the syntactic and phonological categories.

Two main types (Type A and Type B) may be distinguished according to whether the ideophones can or cannot function outside as well as inside the Nominal Phrase:

2.7.1

Type A

Ideophones Type A are those which, in addition to their syntactic functions within the Nominal Phrase, can also function outside the NP. Outside the NP, they can function as 'Adjunct' in non-emphatic sentences, although they cannot be "front-shifted"

in emphatic sentences as adverbial expressions can. Discussion of this, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

On the basis of their syntactic behaviour (within the Nominal Phrase and in other ways), Ideophones Type A can be divided into two sub-types (sub-type A.I. and sub-type A.II.), each sub-type having two further sub-types, giving a total of four syntactic categories. viz.:

Type A.I. (a)

Type A.I. (b)

Type A.II. (a)

Type A.II. (b)

These Ideophones are listed in Appendix A. It is therefore sufficient to give only ^afew examples of each sub-type here, as follows:

<u>Type A.I. (a):</u>	rìi	kàsàkée
	dúkís	kwátsá-kwátsá
	fàl-fàl	zákóo-zàkòo
<u>Type A.I. (b):</u>	cíf	bìrjík
	wúf	dábábá
	fárát	fírgígit
<u>Type A.II. (a):</u>	shàa	kàyàa-kàyàa
	dám-dám	càkwál-càkwál
	túbúràn	tìnkís-tìnkís

<u>Type A.II. (b):</u>	cúr	kwàrà̀m
	káw	wàshà̀r
	rírìs	bùgùzùm-bùgùzùm

2.7.2

Type B

Ideophones of Type B are those which function only within the Nominal Phrase. They are very few in number, and can be divided into two sub-types (I. and II.) on the basis of their syntactic behaviour.

Type B.I. comprises only the ~~the~~ single word kàcìò̀is which is distinguished from ideophones of Type B.II. by behaving in some way like those of Type A.I. (cf. Chapter 4, 4.4.2).

Type B.II. has two further sub-types (a) and (b), viz.:

Type B.II. (a):Type B. II. (b)(1) c̀v̀c̀v̀c̀v̀c̀c̀v̀c̀ (*)

sùkùtúm

fát

rák

fíl

ták

kwál

wúr

(2) c̀v̀c̀v̀c̀c̀v̀c̀

zír

gárándàn

The sign (*) implies that there are other ideophones with the same phonological features in Type A.

2.8

POSSESSIVES

There are two types of Possessive, Long Possessive and Short Possessive, both analysable in terms of a Link Element and a Pronominal Element. Each of them comprises two syntactically significant sets (a) and (b), differing according to their grammatical reference. viz.:

Long Possessive:

Set (a) correlates with a masculine singular or plural anaphor,⁽¹⁾ and has Link Element nàa/náa.

Set (b) correlates with a feminine singular anaphor, and has Link Element tàa/táa.

Short Possessive:

Set (a) follows a masculine singular or a plural noun, and has Link Element -n-⁽²⁾ in most cases.

Set (b) follows a feminine singular noun, and has Link Element -r-⁽²⁾ in most cases.

In both cases, the Pronominal Element varies according to the number, person, and gender of its anaphor, as shown in Table 1.

-
- (1) The term anaphor is used for the Hausa name of a person, thing concept, etc. referred to. Thus, náasà = [his (one)] can refer to a masculine singular noun such as dóokìi = [horse], or plural noun such as dáwáakíi = [horses].
- (2) The Link Element in both Sets (a) and (b) has the same tone as that of the preceding vowel, e.g. gidá→náasà = [his house], but dóokì→náasà = [his horse].

TABLE 1

<u>Anaphor of Pronominal Element</u>	<u>LONG POSSESSIVE</u>		<u>SHORT POSSESSIVE</u>		<u>GLOSS</u>
	<u>SET (a)</u> Masc.Sing. or Pl. <u>anaphor</u>	<u>SET (b)</u> Fem.Sing. <u>anaphor</u>	<u>SET (a)</u> Masc.Sing. or Pl. <u>anaphor</u>	<u>SET (b)</u> Fem.Sing. <u>anaphor</u>	
<u>1st sing.</u>	nàawá	tàawá	-ná/náa ⁽¹⁾	-tá/táa ⁽¹⁾	= [my/mine]
<u>2nd sing.</u> M. F.	náakà náakĩ	táakà táakĩ	-nkà -nkĩ	-rkà -rkĩ	} = [your(s)]
<u>3rd sing.</u> M. F.	náasà náatà	táasà táatà	-nsà -ntà	-rsà -rtà	} = [his her(s)]
<u>1st pl.</u>	náamù	táamù	-nmù	-rmù	= [our(s)]
<u>2nd pl.</u>	náakù	táakù	-nkù	-rkù	= [your(s)]
<u>3rd pl.</u>	náasù	táasù	-nsù	-rsù	= [their(s)]

Various usages of the Possessive (subjective, objective, possessive, etc.) can be distinguished, but they are not relevant for the present purpose.

(1) (a) In both Set (a) and Set (b), the 1st Person forms could be analysed in terms of a Link Element -n- (masc.) and -t- (fem.), and a Pronominal Element -a/-aa, although this is not very satisfactory; and it is probably simpler to treat the link element and the pronominal element as having coalesced in the 1st Person pronouns.

(b) The forms ná and tá occur in pause, while -náa and -táa occur in non-pausal position.

Pages 46 - 50 deleted

2.9

UNITARY ADJECTIVE

From the morphological point of view, Unitary Adjective can be analysed in terms of a single stem and a suffix, the suffix varying according to Number and Gender. Three sub-divisions can be made on the basis of their syntactic behaviour, which is paralleled by differences of their internal structure, viz.:

(a) Agential Adjective, (b) Participial Adjective, and (c) Simple Adjective; (cf. (i) Chp.11, 11.1, pp.198-199; (ii) Tables 3 and 7).

2.9.1

Agential Adjective

The Agential Adjectives are those which consist of a stem, an Agential Prefix má-, and suffix -fi, -iyáa, or -áa (masculine singular, feminine singular, and plural respectively). Those bearing suffix -fi or -áa have HL(L)(L)H⁽¹⁾ tone-pattern, and those bearing -iyáa suffix have HH(H)(H) LH tone-pattern. e.g.:

	<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>	
<u>Masculine:</u>	<u>máshìrìirìicfi</u>	}	<u>máshìrìirìitáa</u>	= [unreliable.]
<u>Feminine:</u>	<u>máshìrìirìiciyáa</u>			
<u>Masculine:</u>	<u>máfàdàacfi</u>	}	<u>máfàdàatáa</u>	= [quarrelsome]
<u>Feminine:</u>	<u>máfàdàaciyáa</u>			
<u>Masculine:</u>	<u>mágùjfi</u>	}	<u>mágùdáa</u>	= [speedy/fast]
<u>Feminine:</u>	<u>mágùjiyáa</u>			

(1) H implies High-tone and L implies Low-tone. H or L enclosed in brackets implies that a syllable carrying that tone in that particular position is found with longer words.

2.9.2

Participial Adjective

The Participial Adjectives consist of a partially reduplicated stem involving an augment of the structure -aCC- where C is identical with the final consonant of the stem or its palatal alternant⁽¹⁾, and suffix -ée, -íyáa, or -úu, (masculine singular, feminine singular, and plural respectively); those bearing the suffix -ée having L(L)HH tone-pattern, those bearing suffix -úu L(L)LH tone-pattern, while those bearing suffix -íyáa have L(L)HHH tone-pattern. e.g.:

	<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>
<u>Masculine:</u>	<u>làalàatáccée</u>	} <u>làalàatàttúu</u> = [spoiled]
<u>Feminine:</u>	<u>làalàatáccíyáa</u>	
<u>Masculine:</u>	<u>kàamámmeé</u>	} <u>kàamámúu</u> = [captive(s)]
<u>Feminine:</u>	<u>kàamámíyáa</u>	

2.9.3

Simple Adjective

The Simple Adjectives are analysable as consisting of a simple stem⁽²⁾ (without agreement) and a suffix which varies according to Gender and Number (but without a prefix), e.g. fár-íi, (masc. sing.); fár-áa, (fem. sing.); fár-àarée, (Pl.); = [white]. Details of these suffixes are given in Chapter 12 (12.3.1.1), and only a few further examples need be given here:

-
- (1) The regular alternations are s/sh, t/c, z/j, d/j; w/y is also sometimes found (cf. hàwóo/hàwáyýée), e.g. fàsásshée = [broken], fítáccée = [deposed], bàzájjée = [well spread] and gàadájjée = [inherited].
- (2) The reduplicated forms such as fárf-fárf = [rather white], bákí-bákí = [rather black] etc., can be included here, the only distinction being that the reduplicated forms cannot occur as Head while others can (cf. 5.8).

	<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>	<u>GLOSS</u>
<u>Masculine:</u>	<u>ìngármàa</u>	) <u>ìngàrmúu</u> = [burly (fellow)]	
<u>Feminine:</u>	<u>ìngármíyáa</u>		
<u>Masculine:</u>	<u>kànkánèe</u>	) <u>kànáanàa</u> = [small]	
<u>Feminine:</u>	<u>kànkánùwáa</u>		
<u>Masculine:</u>	<u>màráayàa</u>	) <u>màràayúu</u> = [orphan]	
<u>Feminine:</u>	<u>màráiniyáa</u>		
<u>Masculine:</u>	<u>gúntúu</u>	) <u>gúntàayée</u> = [piece]	
<u>Feminine:</u>	<u>gúntúwáa</u>		
<u>Masculine:</u>	<u>shúudíi</u>	) <u>shúudàayée</u> = [blue]	
<u>Feminine:</u>	<u>shúudíyáa</u>		
<u>Masculine:</u>	<u>dóogóo</u>	) <u>dóogwàayée</u> = [tall]	
<u>Feminine:</u>	<u>dóogúwáa</u>		

On tonological, phonological, morphological and semantic grounds, it is possible to distinguish further sub-categories of the Simple Adjective, such as Augmentatives, e.g., fánkáméemèe/fánkáméemíyáa = [very broad]; Diminutives, e.g., m̀linífiníi/m̀linífiníyáa = [very tiny]; and derivative Adjectives of various kinds, such as: kàkkárfáa/kàkkárfáa/kárfàafáa = [strong]; c.f. kárfíi = [strength]: but since there is no syntactic behaviour peculiar to any one sub-category as distinct from the others, this distinction has been ignored.

2.10

GEMINATE ADJECTIVE

The term Geminate Adjective is here used to refer to certain reduplicated items (mostly analysable as being based on Non-Dynamic nouns) which occur as post-Head Qualifiers (see Chapter 4, 4.3) in the Simple Nominal Phrase. Examples of these are the following:

- (a) káshli-káshli, as in: mútäänée káshli-káshli (sún wúcèe)
[people in groups (have passed by)]
- (b) bùhúu-bùhúu, as in: hátsíi bùhúu-bùhúu à gídánsà
[corn in sacks in his house....]
- (c) rúwá-rúwá, as in: wáni àbíncí rúwá-rúwá (súkèe cíl)
[it is a certain watery food that
(they are eating)]
- (d) írli-írli, as in: (yáa sàyi) líttàttàfái írli-írli
[[he has bought) different kinds of
books]

2.11

ADJECTIVAL PHRASE

Adjectival Phrase consists of a Unitary Adjective combined with an Ideophone, an Adverb of Degree (see 3.1.1), an Adverbial Compound, or an Adverbial Complex. There are three structural types which also have different features of syntactic behaviour.

2.11.1

Type (a)

Type (a) comprises those consisting of a Unitary Adjective followed by an Ideophone. e.g.:

Agt.Adj. + Ideo.: máhàukàcìi túbúràn = [raving mad]

Ptpl.Adj. + Ideo.: cìkákée màakíl = [full to the brim]

Simp.Adj. + Ideo.: sáabóo fíl = [brand new]

2.11.2

Type (b)

Type (b) comprises those consisting of a Unitary Adjective followed by an Adverb of Degree. e.g.:

Agt.Adj. + Adv.Deg.: mágùjfi áinùn = [very fast]

Ptpl.Adj. + Adv.Deg.: hðorárrée sðosái = [well trained]

Simp.Adj. + Adv.Deg.: bàbbá kwárái = [very big]

2.11.3

Type (c)

Type (c) Adjectival Phrases consist of a Unitary Adjective followed by any of the following:

(a) Adverbial Compound^L

(b) Adverbial Complex (a) or (b), both of Locative category

(c) Adverbial Complex (d)^{Soc.,Inst,}

Thus its structure is: Unit.Adj. + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv.Cpd.} \\ \text{Adv.Cx.} \end{array} \right\}$ e.g.:

- (a) Agt. Adj. + Adv. Cpd.: mágíníi jìkín-bángóo
[which/who builds on the wall]
Ptpl. Adj. + Adv. Cpd.: gínánnée jìkín-bángóo
[which is built on the wall]
Simp. Adj. + Adv. Cpd.: does not occur.
- (b) Agt. Adj. + Adv. Cx. (a): mágíníi à Kándó
[who builds in Kano]
Ptpl. Adj. + Adv. Cx. (a): kùnsásshée à tákàrdáa
[which is wrapped in a (piece of) paper]
Simp. Adj. + Adv. Cx. (a): kàkàrfáa à ídó
[which/who looks strong]
- Agt. Adj. + Adv. Cx. (b): mātāflyíi dàgà Kándó
[who travels from Kano]
Ptpl. Adj. + Adv. Cx. (b): tsàagággée dàgà kàrbú
[which is torn at the edge]
Simp. Adj. + Adv. Cx. (b): fàríi dàgà géefè
[which is white on the edge/side]
- (c) Agt. Adj. + Adv. Cx. (d): mārùbùucíi dà hánnún hágú
[who writes with ^{his} left hand]
Ptpl. Adj. + Adv. Cx. (d): líikákkée dà káakli
[which is blocked with wax]
Simp. Adj. + Adv. Cx. (d): tsóohóo dà shíi
[who/which is (nicely) mature/old]

Longer Adjectival Phrases, with other words dependent on the Adjective, are also possible. e.g. mārùbùucí-í tákàrdáa dà hánnún hágú
= [who writes letters with ^{his} left hand].

2.11.4

Essentially there is a close nexus between the component elements of the Adjectival Phrase, and it is this factor which determines

the unity of this item. There are, however, a few circumstances where an Adjectival Phrase can be discontinuous, e.g., sáabúwár riigáa fíl = [brand new gown], hòorárrén dóokli áinùn = [well trained horse], etc., these are discussed in Chapter 4 (4.4.4) and 7 (7.8).

2.12

ADJECTIVAL COMPLEX

Adjectival Complex consists of the 'Agential Copula' mài/màasú⁽¹⁾ (in complementary distribution, mài being the singular, màasú the plural form); or the corresponding negative pair màràs/màràsáa, combined with any of the following:

Nn.	Cpd.Nn.	Indet.Q.	
Pr.	Spec.	Lg.Pos.	Lg.Gen.

or with a longer NP with one of the above as Head, or with Unit.Adj.⁽²⁾ or Adj.Ph. as Head.

Between the Agential Copula and whatever combines with it, there exists a close nexus, in that nothing can occur between the two items, not even a pause can interrupt them. Their sequential order, Agential Copula + NP, is always maintained.

The most common type of Adjectival Complex is that consisting of the Agential Copula followed by a Noun together with any item qualifying it, further distinction being made between those where ~~where~~ the Noun is a Dynamic Noun and those where it is a Non-Dynamic Noun. This typological distinction also coincides with their syntactic behaviour; and on this basis, ~~there~~ three main types of Adjectival Complex may be differentiated:

(1) Where such phrases as báà hánkàlfi occurs within an NP, báà is comorable to màràs, its counterpart being mài/màasú and not àkwái. It can therefore be treated simply as an alternant to màràs/màràsáa.

(2) e.g. mài babbá-h (yáa zóo) = [the owner of the big one (has come)].

(a) Agt.Cop. + Dynamic Noun:

<u>Non-Verbal Dyn.:</u>	màì màgánàa	= [who can talk]
<u>Strong Verbal Dyn.:</u>	màì fítáa	= [who gets out]
<u>Weak Verbal Dyn.:</u>	màì káamàawáa	= [who catches]
<u>Weak Verbal Dyn.:</u>	màì káamà kíifíi	= [who catches fish]

(b) Agt.Cop. + Non-Dynamic Noun:⁽¹⁾

<u>Abstract Noun:</u>	màì mùgùntáa	= [cruel]
<u>Collective Noun:</u>	màì kúfíi	= [wealthy]
<u>Mass Noun:</u>	màì mádáráa	= [milkman]
<u>Common Noun:</u>	màì dáfíi	= [poisonous]

(c) Agt.Cop. + Other NP's:

<u>Pronoun:</u>	màì shíi	= [the owner of it]
<u>Compound Noun:</u>	màì fárín-jíníi	= [popular]
<u>Specifier:</u>	màì wánnàn	= [the owner of this]
<u>Indeterminate Qualifier:</u>	màì kàzáa	= [owner of such and such]
<u>Long Possessive:</u>	màì náakà	= [who looks after yours]
<u>Long Genitival Cx.:</u>	màì tá sílìkìn	= [the owner of the silken one]

2.13

RELATIVE CLAUSE

For the present ⁿpurpose, it is sufficient to distinguish two types of Relative Clause, labelled (a) and (b):

-
- (1) Proper Nouns do not normally constitute part of such Adjectival Complexes ~~except~~ except in such expressions as Màikánò, a nickname for someone whose first name is the same as that of the emir of Kano.

Type (a) comprises those introduced by wándà/wáddà/wádàndà⁽¹⁾ = [which, who, whom, whose], correlated with a masculine singular, feminine singular, and plural antecedent or anaphor.

Type (b) comprises those introduced by dà, with no variation for Number or Gender. e.g.:

	<u>Type (a)</u>	<u>Type (b)</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>Masc.</u>	wándà yá zóo	-----dà yá zóo	= [who has come]
<u>Fem.</u>	wáddà tá zóo	-----dà tá zóo	= [who has come]
<u>Pl.</u>	wádàndà sùkà zóo	-----da suka zoo	= [who have come]

It is not necessary for the present purpose to go into details of the complex structural possibilities of the Relative Clause, involving, as they do, the syntactic behaviour of the Verbal Phrase.

2.14

SPECIFIERS

The term Specifier is used to cover several forms which are mutually exclusive within the Simple Nominal Phrase. Most of these forms could, perhaps, be analysed in terms of initial wa- plus one or more other elements, but such an analysis does not seem helpful for the present purpose. Moreover, there are certain other forms which could be similarly analysed but which, for the present purpose, are placed under other categories, e.g. wàndà, wáanè, wáncè, etc.

There are three sub-categories, namely:

2.14.1 Interrogative Specifier, which has three form:

<u>Masc. Sing.:</u>	wànè	} = [what/which?]
<u>Fem. Sing.:</u>	wàcè	
<u>Pl.</u>	wádànnè	

2.14.2 Indefinite Specifier, which comprises the following:

<u>Masc. Sing.:</u>	wání	= [a certain (one)]
<u>Fem. Sing.:</u>	wátá	= [a certain (one)]
<u>Pl.:</u>	wádánsú	= [certain people/things; also another, other]

(1) The tone of wanda, wadda, and wadanda is variable, depending on the degree of emphasis. High-toned are more emphatic than Low-toned.

2.14.3 The Demonstrative Specifier which, with reference to the shape of the items concerned and on the basis of their syntactic behaviour, can be sub-divided into Long Demonstrative and Short Demonstrative each having two further sub-divisions, viz., Near Demonstrative and Far Demonstrative . The various forms are listed below:

2.14.3.1 Long Demonstrative

- (a) Near: Singular: ---- wannan = [this (with no distinction as regards gender)]
Plural: ---- wadannan = [these]
- (b) Far: Singular: Masc.: wancan } = [that]
Fem.: waccan }
Plural: ---- wadancan = [those]

2.14.3.2 Short Demonstrative

The Short Demonstrative consists of (a) a Link Element -n/-c, followed by (b) a Locative Element -nan/-can, e.g., -h nân and -h cîn in littáafi-h nân = [this book], and littáafi-h cîn = [that book].

This is treated as a single item on the basis of:

- (a) the inseparability of the elements, in the sense that nothing can occur between them;
- (b) the fact that neither element can be identified with an item occurring elsewhere:
- (i) the link element cannot be identified with the Genitive Link (which always echoes the tone of the preceding

syllable), nor with the Referential (which always has Low tone, (see 2.15));

- (ii) the locative element cannot be identified with the Simple Adverbs nan and can (though clearly related to them), since they sometimes have "Low tone which is not found with the Simple Adverbs. (cf. rīgáń nán = [this gown] rīgáć càn = [that gown], etc.)

(a) The Near Demonstrative comprises only the single item -n nan which correlates both with masculine and feminine singular and with plural.

(b) The Far Demonstrative has two forms:

1. -n can, which correlates with masculine singular and with plural.
2. -c can, which correlates with feminine singular.

For the tone of the Demonstrative Specifiers, both Long and Short forms, see Appendix B.

2.15

REFERENTIAL

The Referential comprises such elements as -n in littáafíh = [the book] or gídáń = [the house].

There are three forms in complementary distribution:

-ń, occurring with reference to masculine singular, as in the above examples,

-ř, occurring with reference to feminine singular, e.g.:
góonář = [the farm], or mákárántář = [the school]

-h, occurring with reference to plural, e.g.:
gídàajéh = [the houses], or gòonákíh = [the farms]

The Referential invariably has Low tone.

2.16

DIMINUTIVE

The Diminutive comprises items such as dǎn in dǎn lǐttáafli = [a small book], or dǎn yáarò = [a small boy].

As in the Referential, there are three items altogether: dǎn, occurring with reference to masculine singular, as in the above examples,

'yár, occurring with reference to feminine singular, e.g.,

'yár góonáa = [a small farm]

'yár kàasúwáa = [a small market]

'yán, occurring with reference to plural, e.g.,

'yán yàaráa = [small children]

'yán gídàajée = [small number of houses]

2.16.1 The Diminutive is treated as a separate item distinct from dáa/'yáa + Gen.Cx. = [son of] because of various syntactic differences, for example, the Diminutive cannot be preceded by a Unit.Adj. in the same NP, nor can the Lg.Gen. be used instead of the Sh.Gen.

2.17

ISOLATOR

What is here treated as Isolator is the single word dáyá in such phrases as dáyá lǐttáafin = [the other book], dáyá gídán = [the other house], or just dáyán = [the other one].

It is distinguished from the Quantifier 1 (dáyá = [1]), by its meaning and by the fact that it always occurs in pre-Head position, as will be seen later, while Quantifier 1 cannot; and Quantifier 1, in turn, always occurs in post-Head position (e.g. lǐttáafli dáyá = [one book]) whereas Isolator cannot. This is discussed in Chapter 4, (4.4.1).

CHAPTER 3.

THE ADVERBIAL CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE
SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The Adverbial items occurring in the Simple Nominal Phrase are of five main types:

Simple Adverb
 Adverbial Compound
 Adverbial Complex
 Adverbial Cluster
 Adverbial Phrase

most of which have further sub-types. But in describing these items, it is necessary to consider not only the main types and sub-types based on internal structure, but also certain other categories which cut across the sub-types and which have a syntactic as well as a semantic basis. These categories and the abbreviations used to refer to them are as follows:

Eq. Equative	Soc. Sociative
Ins. Instrumental	St. Stative
L. Locative	T. Temporal
M. Modal	Via. Viative

Each of these corresponds to some particular pattern or patterns of behaviour. For example, the Sociative Adverbial Complex can follow a Non-Dynamic Noun Head (e.g. wánf máalàmfi dà jàakíi) = [a certain Malam with a donkey]), but the Viative Adverbial Complex cannot.

3.1.

SIMPLE ADVERB

On the basis of their syntactic behaviour and, to some extent, also of their internal structure, the Simple Adverbs can be divided into three sub-types:

- (a) Unitary Adverb
- (b) Reduplicated Adverb
- (c) Adverbs of Degree

Unitary Adverb

Unitary Adverbs are all monomorphemic⁽¹⁾ in structure, e.g.,

cán	=	[there]
dàazú	=	[a little while ago]
hákà	=	[thus]
zàuné	=	[sitting down]
kàsà	=	[down / on the ground]
bàdí	=	[next year]

Reduplicated Adverbs

Reduplicated Adverbs, as the name implies, have a reduplicated structure, e.g.,

cán-cán	=	[far there]
dàazú-dàazú	=	[only just a while ago]
hákà-hákà	=	[this sort of size]
zàzzàuné	=	[all sitting down]

(1) It could be argued that such Spl.Adv.'s as cíkfi = [insidel], or gàbá = [in front] are in fact not monomorphemic but Co-Radical in that they resemble, and can be related to, nouns which are analysable in terms of stem and suffix. But the final vowel of the Adverbs does not alternate with other suffixes as does the final vowel of the corresponding noun, and it is simpler to treat the Adverbs as monomorphemic.

kàsà-kàsà = [a little way down]

bàdí-bàdí = [only next year]

It may be observed that in Stative Reduplicated Adverbs, such as zàzzàuné, there is only partial Reduplication as compared with the corresponding Unitary Adverbs.

Adverbs of Degree

Adverbs of Degree are, with a solitary exception, all monomorphemic in structure, and can be listed exclusively as follows:

áinùn	=	[greatly]
kwárái	=	[very]
sárái	=	[completely]
sòosái	=	[beyond doubt]
dà-gàské ⁽¹⁾	=	[seriously]

3.1.1

In terms of categories, the Adverb of Degree is always Modal, whereas the Unitary and the Reduplicated Adverbs have four categories each, as follows:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Unitary Adverb</u>	<u>Reduplicated Adverb</u>
(a) <u>Locative</u> : e.g.,	cán = [there] báayá = [back]	cán-cán = [far there] báayá-báayá = [a bit back]
(b) <u>Temporal</u> : e.g.,	bàdí = [next year] yànzú = [now]	bàdí-bàdí = [only next year] yànzú-yànzú = [just now]

(1) Strictly this should, perhaps, be treated as Adv.Cx.(d), but:

- (a) its syntactic behaviour differs from that of Adv.Cx.(d), and (b) the second element gàské is not identical with a noun or other forms, as in the case of Adv.Cx.(d).

- (c) Modal: e.g. tíilàs = [necessary^{il}] tíilàs-tíilàs = [very necessary^{il}]
 hákà = [thus] hákà-hákà = [this sort of size]
 (d) Stative: e.g. zàuné = [sitting down] zàzzàuné = [all sitting down]
 ràbé = [divided] ràrràbé = [all divided]

There is one further feature of the Locative and the Temporal Unitary Adverbs, in that:

- (i) The Locative has two further sub-types, which are referred to as (A) and (B).

Type A.

Type A includes all except one of the Loc. Unt. Advs. such as cání = [there], báayá = [back], etc.

Type B

Type B comprises the one word hákà = [there], distinguished from the Modal Adverb hákà = [thus] by its syntactic behaviour as well as its meaning, e.g.,

yáa yí hákà = [he has gone that way]

màtsàa hákà = [move there]

including contexts where only locative expressions are normally used, e.g.,

yáa màtsàa gàbá = [he has moved forward]

" " cání = [he has moved there]

" " kúsá = [he has moved nearer]

or " " hákà = [he has moved (in) that direction]

- (ii) The word cán can sometimes occur as a Temporal Unt. Adv., as in:

cán sái ... = [later]

cán bàdí .. = [later next year]

3.2

ADVERBIAL COMPOUND

What are here considered as Adverbial Compounds are of two structural types, which may be analysed as consisting of:

- (a) Noun followed by either a Short Genitival Complex or by a Short Possessive; or
- (b) a Simple Adverb followed by a Short Genitival Complex or by a Short Possessive.

Their structure may therefore be stated as follows:

(Noun	)	(Short Genitival Complex)
() +	(
(Simple Adverb)	)	(Short Possessive)

e.g.

NOUN

+ Sh.Gen.:	<u>baàkín-kòogfi</u>	= [river-side]
+ Sh.Pos.:	<u>bàakínsà</u>	= [its side]
+ Sh.Gen.:	<u>gíndín-bíshíyàa</u>	= [under the tree]
+ Sh.Pos.:	<u>gíndíntà</u>	= [under it]
+ Sh.Gen.:	<u>kàmár-Audù</u>	= [like Audu]
+ Sh.Pos.:	<u>kamársà</u> ⁽¹⁾	= [like him]

SIMPLE ADVERB

+ Sh.Gen.:	<u>báayán-gàrii</u>	= [outside the city]
+ Sh.Pos.:	<u>báayánsà</u>	= [behind him/it]
+ Sh.Gen.:	<u>kàrkáshín-téebùr</u>	= [under the table]
+ Sh.Pos.:	<u>kàrkáshínsà</u>	= [under it/him]
+ Sh.Gen.:	<u>gàbán-sárkii</u>	= [in front of the emir]
+ Sh.Pos.:	<u>gàbánsà</u>	= [in front of him/it]

There are three categories of Adverbial Compound, differing in their

(1) In addition to this form, there is an anomalous Adverbial Compound: kàmánníí = [like me] and kámásshíí = [like him] analysable as kámáa (Nn) + Sh.Gen. consisting of Gen. Link + Disjunctive Pronoun. This is anomalous in that Dis.Pr. does not normally follow the Gen. Link.

syntactic behaviour:

- (a) Locative, e.g.: cíkín-gídáa = [inside the house]
 bàakín-kòogfi = [river-side]
 gàbàn-sáarkíi = [before the emir]
 báayánsà = [behind him]
- (b) Temporal, e.g.: cíkín-wátàn jiyà = [during last month]
 báayán-sáatfi mài zúwàa = [after next week]
- (c) Modal, e.g.: kàmár-Audù = [like Audu]
 cíkín-móotàa = [by/in a car]
 kàn-dóokii = [on^a horse]

3.3

ADVERBIAL COMPLEX

All Adverbial Complexes consist of a particle (à, dàgà, tá, dà, or ì/yà) and a nominal or adverbial form. On the basis of their internal structure and syntactic behaviour, they can be divided into five main types, referred to as types (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e).

3.3.1

Type (a)

Type (a) Adverbial Complexes are those which consist of:

- (i) Locative Particle⁽¹⁾: à, followed by:
 (ii) any of the following:

- a Non-Dynamic Noun
- a Pronoun
- a Simple Adver (Unitary or Reduplicated)
- an Adverbial Compound
- an Adverbial Cluster^T

or an NP having one of the above as Head.

(1) The term Locative Particle, used by F.W. Parsons, is retained here, although some of the Adv.Cx.'s in which it occurs are in other categories, such as Temporal, Modal and Stative.

The last three (Simp.Adv., Adv.Cpd. and Adv.Cl.) occur as variants (with some positional restrictions) of Simple Adverb, Adverbial Compound and Adverbial Cluster respectively.

Examples of Adv.Cx.(a) are the following:

(a) Loc.Part. + Non-Dyn.:

à gídáá	= [at home]
à shèekàràa	= [(in) a year]
à mákárántáa	= [at school]

(b) Loc.Part. + Pr.:

à shíi	= [in it (masc.)]
à ítá	= [in it (fem.)]
à súu	= [in them]

(c) Loc.Part. + Simp.Adv.:

<u>Unit.Loc.:</u>	à dáamá	= [at the right hand side]
<u>Unit.Temp.:</u>	à dāazú	= [a while ago]
<u>Unit.Mod.:</u>	à kákà	= [just like that]
<u>Unit.Stat.:</u>	à tsàyé	= [standing up]
<u>Redp.Loc.:</u>	à kásà-kásà	= [a little underneath]
<u>Redp.Temp.:</u>	à yànzú-yànzú	= [just now]
<u>Redp.Mod.:</u>	à sànnú-sànnú	= [slowly and gradually]
<u>Redp.Stat.:</u>	à zàzzàuné	= [sitting around]

(d) Loc.Part. + Adv.Cpd.:

à cíkín-gídáa	= [inside the house]
à báayán-dáakii	= [behind the room]
à káñ-kújèeráa	= [on the chair]

(e) Loc.Part. + Adv.Cl.^T:

à gòobé dà sáafé	= [tomorrow in the morning]
à jíyà dà àlmúurùu	= [yesterday at sunset]
à dāazú dà hàntsíi	= [a while ago in the mid-morning]

3.3.2

Type (b)

Type (b) are those consisting of:

(1) Ablative Particle dàgà, followed by:

(2) any of the following:

a Non-Dynamic Noun

a Pronoun

a Simple Adverb (Unitary or Reduplicated only)

an Adverbial Compound

an Adverbial Cluster^T

or an NP having one of the above as Head. Examples are the following:

(a) Abl.Part. + Non-Dyn.:

dàgà káuyèe = [from/round about the village]

dàgà góonáa = [from/round about the farm]

dàgà Kándo = [from Kano]

(b) Abl.Part. + Pr.:

dàgà shíi = [from it/him (Masc.)]

dàgà itá = [from it/her (Fem.)]

dàgà súu = [from them]

(c) Abl.Part. + Simp.Adv.:

Unit.Loc.: dàgà háká/cán = [from/round about that far]

Unit.Temp.: dàgà yáù = [from today]

Unit.Mod.: dàgà hákà = [from this state (gesture)]

Unit.Stat.: dàgà tsáyé = [from^a/standing position]

Redp.Loc.: dàgà báayá-báayá = [(from) a little way back]

Redp.Stat.: dàgà zàzzàuné = [from a sitting position]

The Temporal and the Modal Reduplicated Simple Adverbs do not occur in this type of Adverbial Complex.

(d) Abl.Part. + Adv.Cpd.:

dàgà báayán-gídáa = [from/around the back of the house]

dàgà kàrkáshín-kásáa = [from under ground]

dàgà géefèn-kòogíi = [from the side of the river]

(e) Abl.Part. + Adv.Cl.^T:

dàgà gòobé dà sáafé = [from tomorrow morning]

dàgà jíyà dà àlmúurùu = [from yesterday at sunset]

dàgà dàazú dà hàntsíi = [(from) a moment ago at mid-morning]

3.3.3

Type (c)

Type (c) consists of the Viative Particle tá, followed by the same items as those in types (a) and (b), viz. ^{Non-}Dynamic Noun, Pronoun, Simple Adverb (of Unitary or Reduplicated sub-types), or Adverbial Compound, or an NP having one of the foregoing as Head; but not by an Adverbial Cluster^T. e.g.:

(a) Via.Part. + Non-Dyn.:

tá táagàa = [through the window]

tá tàlhôn = [by telephone]

tá tsáanli = [by ladder]

(b) Via.Part. + Pr.:

tá shíi = [through it/him (Masc.)]

tá ítá = [through it/her (fem.)]

tá súu = [through them]

(c) Via.Part. + Simp.Adv.:

Unit.Loc.: tá dáamá = [by the right]

Unit.Stat.: tá kwàncé = [by lying down]

Redp.Loc.: tá géefè-géefè = [through a little way to the side]

The remaining types of Simple Adverb do not occur in this combination.

(d) Via.Part. + Adv.Cpd.:

tá báayán-gídáa = [by the back door]

tá gídán-wáyàa = [by/through the post-office]

tá géefèn-kòogfi = [by the river side]

(e) But not: Via.Part. + Adv.Cl.^T

*tá gòobé dà sáafé

*tá jíyà dà àlmúurùu

*tá dàazú dà hàntsfi

3.3.4

Type (d)

Type (d) Adv.Cx.'s are those which consist of:

(1) either the Sociative/Instrumental Particle dà, or the Dissociative Particle bàà, followed by:

(2) any of the following:

a Noun (of either Dynamic or Non-Dynamic type)

a Pronoun

a Simple Adverb

an Adverbial Compound

or an NP having one of the above as Head.

Complexes containing the Sociative/Instrumental Particle dà can be either of Sociative or of Instrumental category, those containing the Dissociative Particle, on the other hand, are analysed as being in the Sociative category.

Examples of Adverbial Complex (d) are the following:

(a) Part. + Dyn.Nn.:

Soc.: (fítáa wàjé) dà kúukáa = [with cry / crying]

(áikíi) bàà húutàawáa = [without a rest]

Ins.: (tsóoràtáa sú) dà hárbli = [by shooting]

(b) Part. + Non-Dyn.:

- Soc.: (wání mùtúm) dà dóókíí = [with a horse]
 (yáawòò) báà tàakàlmfi = [without shoes]
Ins.: (àzáabàa) dà wútáa = [with fire]

(c) Part. + Pr.:

- Soc.: (yáawòò) dà shíí = [with him/it]
 (zúwàa) báà shíí = [without him/it]
Ins.: (rùbùutúu) dà shíí = [with it]

(d) Part. + Spl. Adv.:

- Ins.: (rùbùutúu) dà hákà = [this way]
 Others do not occur

(e) Part. + Adv. Cpd.:

- Ins.: (rùbùutúu) dà tsákár-dárée = [in the middle of the night]
 Others do not occur

3.3.5

Type (e)

Type (e) consist of (i) Equative Particle i/yà (in free variation), followed by: (ii) any of the following:

- a Non-Dynamic Noun
- a Pronoun
- a Long Genitival Complex
- a Long Possessive
- a Long Demonstrative

or an NP having one of the above as Head.

e.g.:

- (a) Eq.Part. + Non-Dyn.: ɪ/yà Báláa
[as (big as/clever as etc.) Bala]
- (b) Eq.Part. + Pr.: ɪ/kái
[as (big/tall etc. as) you]
- (c) Eq.Part. + Lg.Pos.: ɪ/yà náakà
[as (big/good etc. as) yours]
- (d) Eq.Part. + Lg.Gen.: ɪ/yà ná jíyà
[as (big/good etc. as) that of yesterday]
- (e) Eq.Part. + Lg.Dem.: ɪ/yà wánnàn
[as (big/beautiful etc. as) this]

3.3.6 Type (a) and (b) can be:

- Locative, e.g. Type (a): à Kándò = [in/at Kano]
Type (b): dàgà Kándò = [from Kano]
- Temporal, e.g. Type (a): à dàazú = [a while ago]
Type (b): dàgà yáu = [from today]
- Stative, e.g. Type (a): à tsàyé = [while standing up]
Type (b): dàgà tsàyé = [from^a standing position]

Types (a) and (d) can be:

- Modal, e.g. Type (a): à hákà = [in this state]
Type (d): dà hákà = [this way]

Type (d), in addition, can be:

- Temporal, e.g.: dà àlmúurùu = [at sunset]
- Sociative, e.g.: dà dóókíi = [with a horse]
bàà tàakàlmíi = [without shoes]
- Instrumental, e.g.: dà wíkàa = [with a knife]

Type (c) can be Viative only, e.g. tá táagàa=[through the window]

Type (e) can be Equative only, e.g. ɪ wánnàn = [like this one]

The syntactic categories of Adverbial Complexes can be summarised as follows:

- (i) Type (a) has four categories:

Locative	Modal
Temporal	Stative
- (ii) Type (b) has three categories:

Locative	
Temporal	Stative
- (iii) Type (c) has only one category, viz.:

Viative

- (iv) Type (d) has four categories:

Sociative	Modal
Temporal	Instrumental
- (v) Type (e) has only one category, viz.:

Equative

3.4. ADVERBIAL CLUSTER

Adverbial Cluster consists of:

- (a) a Unitary Adverb of Locative, Temporal, or Modal categories in the initial position; followed by:
- (b) one or less often two of the other Adverbial forms, which may be any of the following:
 - another Simple Adverb (of any category)
 - an Adverbial Compound
 - an Adverbial Complex of either type (b) or (d)
 - an Adverbial Phrase of type (a), (see 3.5.1)

In each case, the second part is (semantically) more specific than

the first. There are also considerable restrictions on the possible combinations:

- (i) The first and second constituents are always of the same category, except that a Loc. Unit. Adv. can be followed by a Stative category form.
- (ii) No item (not even a Modal Particle) can occur between the component constituents.

e.g.:

(a) Unit.Loc. + Unit.Loc.:

nán kóofà = [there at the door]
cán báayá = [there at the back]

(b) Unit.Loc. + Unit.Stat.:

nán tsàyé = [there, standing]
cán tàfé = [there, coming]

(c) Unit.Loc. + Redp.Loc.:

cán kàsà-kàsà = [there, a little underneath]
nán kùrkúsá = [here, quite near]

(d) Unit.Loc. + Redp.Stat.:

nán zàzzàuné = [there, (all) sitting]
cán tsàitsàyé = [there, (all) standing]

(e) Unit.Loc. + Adv.Cpd.Loc.:

nàn bàakín-kàasúwáa = [here, near the market]
cán báayán-gàríí = [there, outside the city]

(f) Unit.Loc. + Adv.Ph.(a)Loc.:

cán hákà dà kàasúwáa = [there, to the far side of the
market]
nán gàbá-gàbá dà gídánkà = [there, a little way from
your house]

(g) Unit.Loc. + Adv.Ph.(a)Stat.:

nán zàuné dáf dà kúu = [there, sitting quite near you]

nán lliké jikín-bángóo = [there, stuck to the wall]

(h) Unit.Loc. + Adv.Cx.(b)Loc.:

cán dàgà néesà = [right there, from the distance]

cán dàgà sámà = [right there, from the top]

(i) Unit.Temp. + Adv.Cx.(b)Temp.:

cán dàgà báayá = [some time afterwards]

cán dàgà kàrshée = [late in the end]

(j) Unit.Temp. + Adv.Cx.(d)Temp.:

cán dà dàamináa = [late in the rainy season]

cán dà yámmá = [late in the evening]

(k) Unit.Temp. + Adv.Cpd.Temp.:

gòobé báayán-là'ásàr = [tomorrow after mid-afternoon]

bàdí fàrkón-ráaníi = [next year early in the dry season]

(l) Unit.Temp. + Adv.Cx.(d)Temp.:

bàará dà kàakáa = [last year in the harvest season]

jíyà dà sáafé = [yesterday morning]

(m) Unit.Mod. + Simp.Mod.:

Unit.Mod.: hákà dáidái = [like this, exactly]

Redp.Mod.: hákà sànnú-sànnú = [this way, gradually]

(n) Unit.Temp. + Adv.Cx.(d)Temp. + Adv.Cpd.Temp.:

gòobé dà ráaná báayán-sháà-bíyú

[tomorrow during the day, after twelve o'clock]

(o) Unit.Loc. + Adv.Cpd.Loc. + Adv.Cpd.Loc.:

cán báayán-gàrfi gàbán-gidán-sáarkfi

[right outside the city, beyond the emir's house]

3.4.1 On the basis of the categories of their constituents, and their syntactic behaviour, Adverbial Clusters can be divided into four categories:

Locative	Modal
Temporal	Stative

In the case of Loc. + Stat. the Cluster is treated as Stative, because it behaves, syntactically, like the Stative Adverbial Cluster rather than the Locative. (c.f. examples (b), (d), and (g) above.)

3.5 ADVERBIAL PHRASE

Adverbial Phrase consists of:

- (i) either a Simple Adverb (Unitary or Reduplicated), or an Adverbial Complex of Type (a), (b), or (c) in initial position, followed by:
- (ii) an Adverbial Complex of either Type (b) or (d).

There are two types of Adverbial Phrase, Type (a) and Type (b), differing in the nature of the first constituent and syntactic behaviour. In type (a), the first constituent is a Simple Adverb, whereas in type (b) it is an Adverbial Complex.

3.5.1 Type (a)

The structure of Adverbial Phrase (a) is as follows:

Simp. Adv. + { Adv. Cpd.
Adv. Cx. }

It can be sub-divided into two categories, Locative and Stative:

(a) Locative consists of:

- (i) either Únt. or Redp. Simple Adverb (Loc. category in both cases), followed by:
- (ii) an Adverbial Complex Type (d)^{Soc.}

(b) Stative consists of:

- (i) either Únt. or Redp. Simple Adverb (Stative category in both cases), followed by:
- (ii) any of the following:

Ad.Cpd.^L

Adv.Cx. (a)^L, (b)^L, or (d)^{Soc.}

e.g.,

(a) Locative:

Únt.Adv. + Adv.Cx.(d): kúsá dà kàasúwáa
[near the market]

něesà dà gídáa
[far from home]

Redp.Adv. + Adv.Cx.(d): kúsá-kúsá dà kàasúwáa
[quite near the market]
gàbá-gàbá dà mākárántáa
[just beyond the school]

(b) Stative:

(In these cases, the Adv.Cpd. or Adv.Cx. is usually one that could appropriately be dependent on the corresponding verb).

Únt.Adv. + Adv.Cpd.: lliké jikín-bángóo
[fixed to the wall]

Redp.Adv. + Adv.Cpd.: lllliké jikín-bángóo
[all fixed to the wall]

<u>Unit.Adv. + Adv.Cx.(a):</u>	kùnshé à tákàrdáa [wrapped in a piece of paper]
<u>Redp.Adv. + Adv.Cx.(a):</u>	kùnkùnshé à tákàrdáa [all wrapped in a piece of paper]
<u>Unit.Adv. + Adv.Cx.(b):</u>	tsàagé dàgà kàrbú [torn on the edge]
<u>Redp.Adv. + Adv.Cx.(b):</u>	tsàattsàagé dàgà kàrbú [all torn on the edge]
<u>Unit.Adv. + Adv.Cx.(d):</u>	lìiké dà káakli [blocked with wax]
<u>Redp.Adv. + Adv.Cx.(d):</u>	lìlìliké dà káakli [all blocked with wax]

3.5.2

Type (b)

The structure of Adverbial Phrase (b) is as follows:

Adv.Cx.(a), (b), or (c) + Adv.Cx.(d)

It can be sub-divided into two categories: Locative and Viative.

Locative

The Locative consists of:

(i) Adv.Cx. of either Type (a) or (b), Locative category in both cases, followed by:

(ii) Adv.Cx.(d)^{Soc.}

Viative

The Viative consists of:

(i) Adv.Cx.(c)^{Via.}, followed by:

(ii) Adv.Cx.(d) Soc.

e.g.:

(a) Locative:

Adv.Cx.(a) + Adv.Cx.(d): à dáamá dà kàasúwáa

[to the right of the market]

à kàsà dà kái

[(living) under you (your flat)]

Adv.Cx.(b) + Adv.Cx.(d): dàgà néesà dà kúu

[quite far from you]

dàgà sámà dà táagàa

[above the window]

(b) Viative:

Adv.Cx.(c) + Adv.Cx.(d): tá dáamá dà kàasúwáa

[by the right-hand side of
the market]

tá yámmá dà gàríi

[to the west of the town]

CHAPTER 4

FUNCTION OF INDIVIDUAL ITEMS INTHE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

As indicated in Chapter 1, the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase can be described in terms of three positions, the pre-Head, the Head and the post-Head positions, one or more of which may be filled in any given NP. The items which occur in these positions are referred to as pre-Head Qualifier, Head, and post-Head Qualifier respectively.

Of the items introduced in Chapters 2 and 3, some can function only as Head, others only as Qualifier, but the great majority can occur both as Head and as Qualifier, with further differences as to whether they can occur as pre-Head or post-Head Qualifier. On this basis, these items can be divided into seven groups, as shown below. Examples are, for the most part, not included here, since adequate examples of individual items are given in Chapters 2 and 3, while examples of typical NP's are given in subsequent chapters.

The number in brackets after each item refers to the type of NP discussed in Chapter 5.

4.1 Items Functioning only as Head

There are three items which occur only as Head in the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase. These are the following:

Nouns (1)

Compound Nouns (2)

Pronouns (3)

4.2 Items Functioning only as Pre-Head Qualifier

There are two items occurring only as pre-Head Qualifier

viz. (1):

Diminutive

Interrogative Specifier

This does not mean, however, that the distribution of these two items is identical. The only factor linking them together is the fact that each of them can occur only in pre-Head position; but the types of Head with which they can combine and the types of other qualifiers with which they can co-occur are different, as will be seen later.

4.3 Items Functioning only as Post-Head Qualifier

A relatively high number of items can occur only as post-Head Qualifier. They can be divided into two separate groups, as follows:

- (a) Those which can occur only immediately after the Head, and which can accordingly be referred to as the 'Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers (I.P.H.Q.)'. They comprise the following:

(1) To these should perhaps be added what is probably to be analysed as a kind of Compound Specifier. This consists of the combination of one or other of the pre-Head Specifiers with írìn, e.g. wàné írìn líttáafii? = [what kind of book?]; wání írìn líttáafii = [a certain type of book]; wánnàn írìn líttáafii = [this kind of book] etc.

Short Demonstrative
 Short Genitival Complex
 Short Possessive
 Referential

- (b) Those whose occurrence is not restricted to the immediate post-Head position. They comprise the following:

Indeterminate Qualifier
 Geminate Adjective
 Relative Clause (b)
 Adverb of Degree
 Adverbial Complex (including all its sub-types)
 Adverbial Phrase (of either sub-type)

Although each of these items can function only as post-Head Qualifier, their distribution in terms of the types of Head with which they can combine and the types of Qualifier with which they can co-occur may be different.

4.4. Items Functioning Both as Head and as Qualifier

The great majority of items can occur both as Head and as Qualifier in either pre-Head or post-Head positions; and they can be divided accordingly into four different groups, as follows:

4.4.1. Head and Pre-Head Qualifier

The following two items can occur either as Head or as pre-Head Qualifier:

Indefinite Specifier (4a)
 Isolator (13)

The Isolator occurs as pre-Head Qualifier only with the necessary co-occurrence of the Referential in post-Head position,

e.g., dáyá líttáafi→h = [the other book]
dáyá bàakó→h = [the other guest];

and where the Isolator is functioning as Head, the occurrence of the Referential in Post-Head position is also obligatory, e.g.,

daya→n yáa ísó = [the other one (masculine) has arrived]
dáyá→r táa zóo = [the other one (feminine) has come]

4.4.2 Head and Post-Head Qualifier

Each of the following eight items can occur either as Head or as Post-Head Qualifier:

- Quantifiers (5)
- Long Genitival Complex (7)
- Ideophone (9)
- Adjectival Phrase (10)
- Adjectival Complex (11)
- Relative Clause (a) (12)
- Simple Adverb (other than Adverb of Degree) (14)
- Adverbial Compound (15)
- Adverbial Cluster (16)

It is appropriate to add the following points:

- (a) kàdán, dà yáwàa and dà dáamáa can sometimes occur after an Adjective Head, but they must be analysed not as ⁿQualifier 2 but as an Adverb of Degree. A further distinction, therefore, needs to be made between the two functions of these forms:

- (1) They are analysed as Adverb of Degree when their counterparts in the same context are áinùn, kwárái, or -n gàské e.g.,

gàjéerée kàdán = [slightly short]

fárfi dà yáwàa = [very white]

Here they could not be replaced by dà dáamáa = [few] but only by áinùn or kwárái = [very]

- (2) They are Qualifier 2 when áinùn, kwárái or -n gàské cannot be substituted in the same context, e.g.,

mútàanée kàdán (sún zóo) = [few people have come]

mútà^anee dà yáwàa (sún zóo) = [many people have come]

Here kàdán and dà yáwàa cannot be replaced by any of the items mentioned above.

- (b) Most ideophones can occur either as Head or as post-Head Qualifier, the only exceptions are the following:

- (1) Ideophone Type B.I can function as Head only, e.g.,
(náa cí) kàcíbìs dà Audù = [I have met Audu accidentally];
but it cannot occur as Qualifier, since kàcíbìs cannot follow any type of Head.
- (2) Ideophones type A.II(a), A.II.¹(b), and B.II.(a) cannot function as Head, but they can occur as post-Head Qualifier, e.g.,

Hd. + Ideo.A.II.(a): hàukáa túbúràn (yá kèe yíí)
[he is raving mad]

Hd. + Ideo.A.II.(b): kúukáa rírìs (yá kèe yíí)
[he is crying very bitterly]

Hd. + Ideo.B.II(a): ràagóo sùkùtúm (tá sóoyàa)
[she has roasted a
whole ram]

But not as Head, e.g.,

*yáa yí túbúràn

*yáa yí rírìs

*yáa yí sùkùtúm

- (3) Ideophones Type B.II.(b) can occur neither as Head nor as Qualifier. They can occur only as second element of Adjectival Phrase (a), e.g.,

fárlí fát; sáabóo fíl

For details about the classification of Ideophones, see Appendix A.

4.4.3. Head and Pre-Head or Post-Head Qualifier

The following three items can occur as Head, as Pre-Head Qualifier, or as Post-Head Qualifier:

Long Possessive (6)

Long Demonstrative (4b)

Unitary Adjective (8)

There are, however, the following restrictions:

- (a) The Long Possessive in Pre-Head position presupposes the co-occurrence of the Referential in Post-Head position

[cf. Chapter 10, 10.2.]

nàawá littáafi→n = [the book belonging to me]

táasà kújèerá→r = [the chair belonging to him]

náakà tàagíyú→n = [the caps belonging to you]

- (b) The Unitary Adjective in Pre-Head position is always immediately followed by an Adjectival Link: -n masculine, -r feminine, and -n plural (-n/-r/-n). In this case, the final vowel of the Unitary Adjective is short, even if in isolation it is long, and the Adjectival Link has the same tone as the final vowel, e.g.,

fárin dóokli = [whitehorse]

shúudín littáafi = [blue book]

fáraf sáaniyáa = [white cow]

fàràarén sháanúu = [white cattle]

When the Unit.Adj. is in Post-Head Position, there is no Adjectival Link, e.g.,

dóokli málàalàacii = [a lazy horse]

dóokli hòorárrée = [a well trained Horse]

dóokli fárin = [a white horse]

- (c) Unitary Adjective type (a) (Agential Adjective) can be divided into two further sub-types:

(i) Those whose verbal counterparts are intransitive, e.g., mágùjfi = [swift], máfàdàacii = [quarrelsome]. These can occur both as Head and as Pre-Head or Post-Head Qualifier.

(ii) Those whose verbal counterparts are transitive, e.g., mádinkii = [tailor], máciyíi = [voracious]. These can occur both as Head and as Post-Head Qualifier, but cannot occur as Pre-Head Qualifier.

4.4.4. Head and Post-Head or Discontinuous Qualifier

There is one item which can occur both as Head and as Post-Head Qualifier, and can also occur as what may be termed a 'Discontinuous Qualifier', namely:

Adjectival Phrase (10)

When it occurs not as Head but as Qualifier, there are two possible patterns of syntactic behaviour:

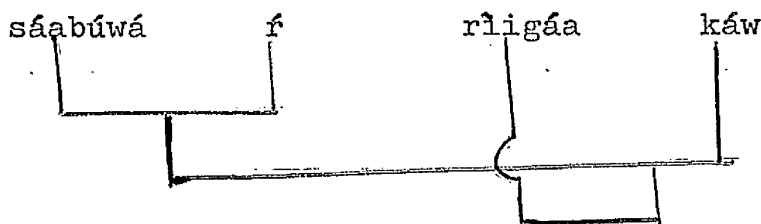
- (a) All its constituents may occur entirely in Post-Head position, in which case it functions as Post-Head Qualifier, e.g.,

- (i) rīgáa sáabúwáa káw = [a brand new gown]
 (ii) rīgáa kyàkkyáawáa kwárái = [a very good gown]
 (iii) rīgáa kùnsásshíyáa à tákàrdáa = [a gown wrapped in a piece of paper]

- (b) It may be discontinuous, the two major constituents being separated on either side of the Head. In spite of this discontinuity, the Adjectival Phrases are still treated as a unity, because of their close association, reflected in their Immediate Constituent analysis; as in the following example:

sáabúwár rīgáa káw = [a brand new gown]

can be analysed as follows:



It may be noted that the Unitary Adjective which constitutes the main element of Adjectival Phrase is, in this case, always accompanied by its Adjectival Link.

SECTION II

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

CHAPTER 5

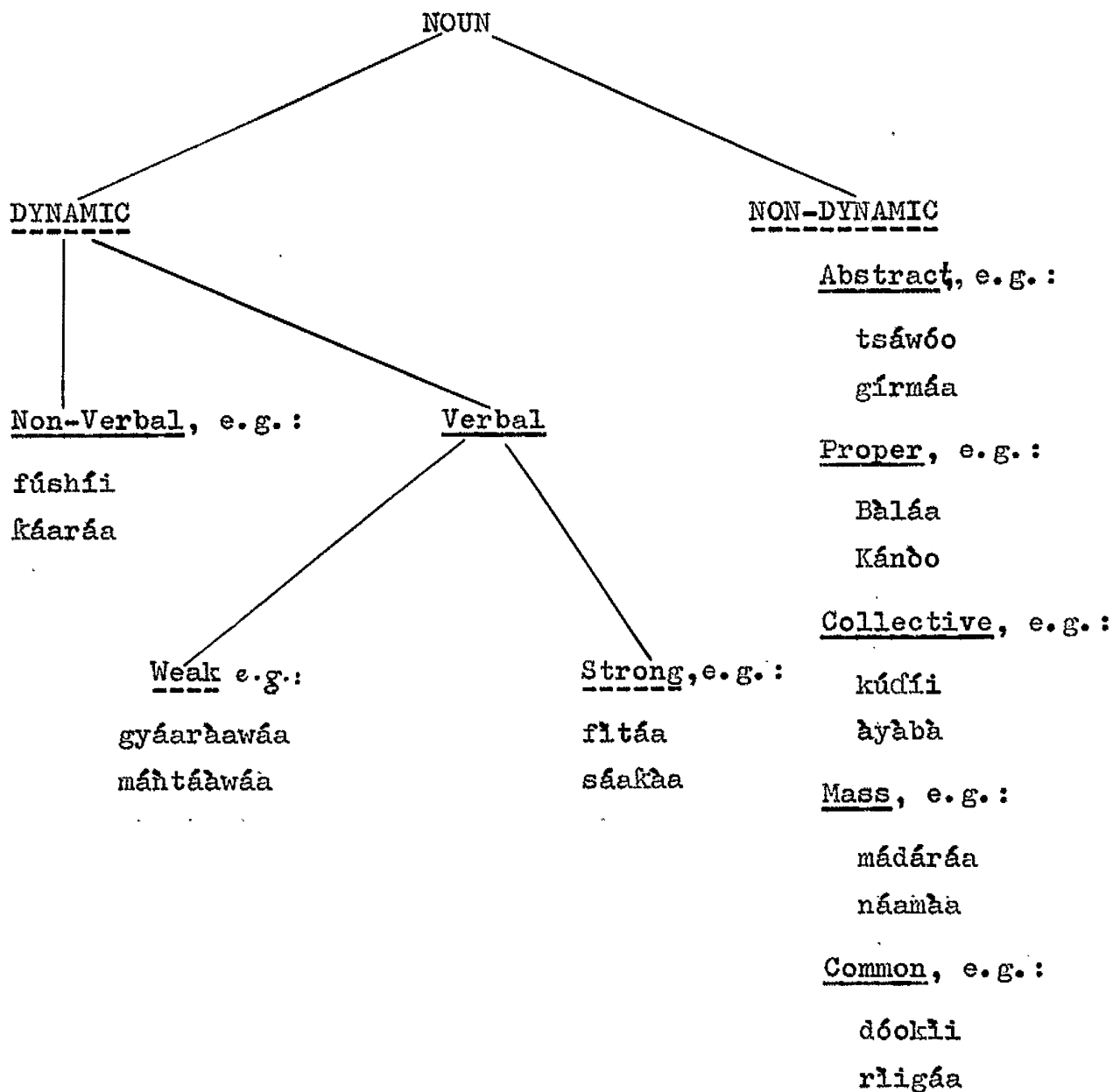
SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE CONSISTING OF HEAD ALONE

Simple Nominal Phrase^S, whether in their elemental form consisting of Head alone or in fuller form with one or more Qualifiers, may be classified according to the type of item that functions as Head. In this chapter, the various types of Simple Nominal Phrase are illustrated in their elemental form. The examples are set in appropriate contexts, both in subject and in object position in a sentence, except in the case of Simple NP's of types 1 and 2, with Noun and Compound Noun as Head respectively, where contextualization hardly seems necessary.

5.1

Type 1 - Noun as Head

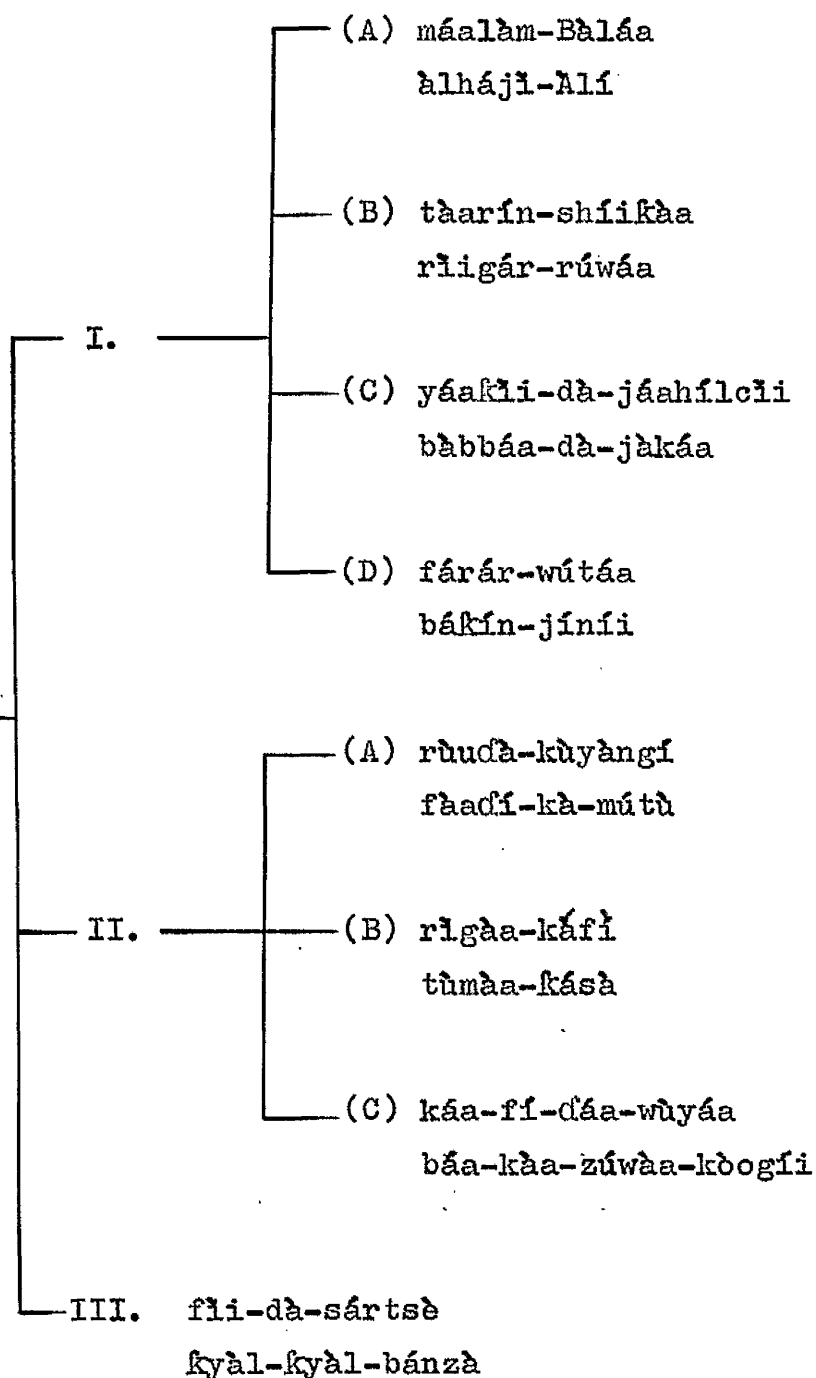
Both Dynamic and Non-Dynamic Nouns with their sub-types can function as Head of NP Type 1. Examples of such Nouns are given in the following diagram, their glosses being already given in Chapter 2 (2.1).



5.2

Type 2 - Compound Noun as Head

Like the Nouns, any item from any sub-type of Compound Noun can occur as Head. Examples of all the sub-types of Compound Noun are given in the flow diagram below, the glosses being given in Chapter 2 (2.2).

COMPOUND NOUN

5.3

Type 3 - Pronoun as Head

Here all the three types of Pronoun can function as Head of NP type 3, although the Disjunctive Pronoun Head can occur only in subject position, e.g.,

(a) Disjunctive Pronoun as Head:

múu mún gámàa = [we have finished]

súu záa sù jée = [they are going]

(b) Interrogative Pronoun as Head:(i) in subject position:

wàa yá zòò? = [who has come?]

wàacécècèè tá fítá? = [who (fem.) has gone out:]

(ii) in object position:

káa gá wàa? = [you saw whom?]

káa jí mèe = [you heard what?]

(c) Indefinite Pronoun as Head:

(i) subj.: wáanè yáa dáawóo = [so-and-so (masc.) is back]

(ii) obj.: náa gá wáanè = [I saw so-and-so (masc.)]

5.4

Type 4 - Specifier as Head

Both Indefinite Specifier and Long Demonstrative can occur as Head of this type, in either subject or object positions, e.g.,

(a) Indef. Spec. as Head:

(i) subj.: wání yáa zóo = [sone/another one has come]

(ii) obj.: yáa àikí wání = [he has sent some/another one]

(b) Lg.Dem. as Head:

(i) subj.: wánnàn yáa fí = [this one is better]

(ii) obj.: yáa zàaíbí wánnàn = [he has chosen this one]

5.5 Type 5 - Quantifier as Head(a) Qt. 1 as Head: e.g.,(i) subj.: (gùdǎa) húǎú sún ǐsǎ = [four are sufficient](ii) obj.: yǎa sǎyí (gùdǎa) húǎú = [he has bought four](b) Qt. 2 as Head: e.g.,(i) subj.: kàǎán sún dǎawóo = [a few have come back](ii) obj.: yǎa sǎamí kàǎán = [he has got a few](c) Qt. 3 as Head: e.g.,(i) subj.: bíyú-bíyú sún ǐshée sù = [two each are enough](ii) obj.: sún sǎamí úkù-úkù = [they have got for them
three each]5.6 Type 6 - Long Possessive as Head(i) subj.: nǎawá yǎa kǎarèe = [mine has finished]

tǎasù tǎa kǎryèe = [theirs is broken]

(ii) obj.: yǎa dǎukí tǎatà = [he has taken hers]

tǎa àrí nǎakà = [she has borrowed yours]

5.7. Type 7 - Long Genitival Complex as Head(i) subj.: ná ǎudù yǎa bǎtǎ = [Audu's is missing]tǎ jíyà tǎa kǎarèe = [the one of yesterday is finished](ii) obj.: yǎa àrí ná mákárántǎa = [he has borrowed the school's]tǎa sǎyí ná háwǎa = [she has bought one for riding]5.8 Type 8 - Unitary Adjective as Head(a) Agt.Adj.: mǎgùjǐi yǎa ǐsóo = [a fast one has arrived]mǎfǎdǎacǐi yǎa ǐsóo = [a cantankerous one has
arrived]

- (b) Ptpl. Adj.: làalàatáccée yáa zóo = [a spoiled one has come]
dàurárrée yáa gúdù = [a prisoner has escaped]
- (c) Simp. Adj.: fárfi yáa bátà = [a white one is missing]
kànkánèe yáa ísá = [a small amount is enough]

5.9

Type 9 - Ideophone as Head

NP type 9 has an Ideophone functioning as Head, but there are the following restrictions:

- (a) When in subject position, the Head is always combined with either the Ref. or the Sh.Dem. in post-Head position, e.g:

+Ref.: sákó-sákó-ñ yáa wárgàjée
 [the loose one has (finally) disintegrated]

kàzàr-kàzàr dín táa yí yáwàa
 [the restlessness is too much]

+Sh.Dem.: zákóo-zàkò-ñ nán sún dàamée shí
 [those prominent ones are bothering him]

fàl-fàl dín nán táa báa mútáanée tsòoróo
 [this fluttering flame could frighten people]

- (b) Only ideophones of type A.I.(a), A.I.(b), and B.I (see Appendix A) can function as Head of an NP. e.g:

- (i) In subject position: (see (a) above)
- (ii) In object position:

cíiwòn nán yáa hánà Audù ⁽¹⁾sákát
 [this illness has denied Audu peace of mind]

mèe kèe sáa shí ⁽¹⁾zùgúm hákà?
 [what makes him look so solemn?]

(1) With these verbs, the Direct Object is the second of the two objects.

5.10

Type 10 - Adjectival Phrase as Head

Examples:

(a) Adj.Ph.(a):

mún gá máhàukàcìí túbùrà̀n = [we saw a raving mad (person)]
 yáa zàabí cìkákée màakí = [he has chosen a completely full
sáabóo fí yáa bátà = [a brand new one is missing] one]

(b) Adj.Ph.(b):

yáa sàyí mágùjii áinùn = [he has bought a very fast one]
hòorárrée sòosáí yáa bátà = [a well trained one is missing]
bàbbá kwáráí táa nùuná = [a very big one is ripe]

(c) Adj.Ph.(c):

yáa bàntàrí gínánnée jìkín-bángóo = [he has pulled out one
 which is stuck to the wall]
kàkkárfáa à ídó kám yáa wúcèe = [a strong-looking one has
 passed by]

5.11

Type 11 - Adjectival Complex as Head

Examples are:

(a) Adj.Cx.(a):

màì màgánàa yáa zóo = [(he) who has complaints has arrived]
 mún gá màì káamàawáa = [we saw who catches (it)]

(b) Adj.Cx.(b):

màì mádàráa yáa wúcèe = [a milkman has passed by]
 yáa mún gá màì kúdíí = [we saw a rich man today]

(c) Adj.Cx.(c):

màì shíí yáa fítá = [the owner (of it) has gone out]
 wáa yá gá màì wánnà̀n? = [who saw the owner of this one?]

5.12 Type 12 - Relative Clause (a) as Head

Examples are:

- (i) Subj.: wàndà yá zóo yáa kóomàa
 [(the one) who came has gone back]
 wàndà ká báa nì yáa bátà
 [(that) which you gave me is missing]
- (ii) Obj.: náa gá wàndà yá rúbùutáa
 [I saw who wrote (it)]
 áń káamà wádàndà súkà sàatáa
 [(some one) has arrested those who stole (it)]

5.13 Type 13 - Isolator as Head

Isolator in Head position is always combined with the Referential in Post-Head position, e.g.,

- (i) Subj.: dáyá-àh yáa dáawóo = [the other (masc.) one is back]
dáyá-àr tánàa zúwàa = [the other (fem.) one is coming]
- (ii) Obj.: náa hàngí dáyá-àh = [I can see the other (masc.) one
from the distance]
án àikí dáyá-àr = [the other (fem.) one has been
sent with a message]

5.14 Type 14 - Simple Adverb as Head

Both Unitary and Reduplicated Simple Adverbs can occur as Head. Examples are shown as follows:

Simp.	{ Unit.	(a) <u>Loc.</u> : <u>cáñ</u> <u>táa</u> <u>fí</u>	= [there is better]
		(b) <u>Mod.</u> : <u>yáa</u> <u>fí</u> <u>hákà</u>	= [it's more than that]
		(c) <u>Stat.</u> : <u>sún</u> <u>tàashí</u> <u>zàuné</u> <u>tsàyé</u>	= [they asked for trouble]
	{ Redp.	(a) <u>Loc.</u> : <u>báayá-báayá</u> <u>táa</u> <u>fí</u>	= [back a little is better]
		(b) <u>Stat.</u> : <u>yá</u> <u>yí</u> <u>kwàncé-kwàncé</u>	= [he concentrated]

As is clear from the above examples, Temporal (both Unitary and Reduplicated) and Modal Reduplicated Simple Adverb do not occur as Head. The remaining categories which do occur can function both as subject and as object.

5.15 Type 15 - Adverbial Compound as Head

- (i) Subj.: wàjén-gàríi táa jíkèe shátáf
[outside the city has got thoroughly wet]
- cíkín-gídáa táa gyàarú rádáu
[inside the house is repaired beautifully]
- (ii) Obj.: rúwáa yáa jíkà tsákár-gídáa sháráf
[the rain has soaked the middle of the house]
- tàbóo yáa báatà bàakín-kòogín
[mud has spoiled the reverside]

5.16 Type 16 - Adverbial Cluster as Head

When an Adverbial Cluster functions as Head it is usually of Locative category; Adverbial Cluster^T can occur as Head, but it functions only as subject and never as object of a verb. e.g.:

- (a) Adv.Cl.^L, as Head:
- (i) Subj.: cáñ yámmá-yámmá táa búushèe
[over there to the west is dry]

nán bàakín-kàasùwáa táa yí mäsà néesáa

[here close to the market is too far for him]

(ii) Obj.: wútáa táa kóonà cán kásà-kásà

[fire has destroyed a little way down there]

(b) Adv.Cl.^T, as Head:

gòobée báayán-là'ásàr táa yí nñisáa

[tomorrow in the late afternoon is too far away]

bàará kàrshén-dàamináa táa kóoyàa mäsà hánkàlfi

[Last year at the end of the rainy season taught him a lesson]

CHAPTER 6

PRE-HEAD QUALIFIERS IN THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The items which can function as Pre-Head Qualifiers have been mentioned in Chapter 4 (4.2, 4.4.1, and 4.4.3). They may be listed briefly here, as follows:

Specifier: Int.

Indef.

Lg. Dem.

Isolator

Diminutive

Long Possessive

Unitary Adjective

While all these items can occur as Pre-Head Qualifier, there are some restrictions on their occurrence, and this is discussed at appropriate points below.

In discussing the Pre-Head Qualifiers, it is convenient to consider NP's containing only ^{one} Pre-Head Qualifier first, and subsequently those containing more than one.:

6.1 Head preceded by one Qualifier

Of the various items which can occur as Head, some can be preceded by any of the Pre-Head Qualifiers listed above, some cannot be preceded by any of the Pre-Head Qualifiers at all, while others can only be preceded by certain of them, as described below:

6.1.1 The following items, as Head, can be preceded by any Pre-Head Qualifier:

Dyn.	Unlt. Adj.
Non-Dyn.	<u>Adj. Cx.</u> : (a)
<u>Cpd. Nn.</u> : I. (b)	(b)
II.	(c)
III.	Adv. Cpd.

Possible combinations of this kind may be illustrated by the following examples containing a Non-Dynamic Noun as Head:

<u>Int. + Hd.</u> :	<u>wàné</u> líttáafli?	= [which book?]
<u>Indef. + Hd.</u> :	<u>wání</u> líttáafli	= [a certain book]
<u>Lg. Dem. + Hd.</u> :	<u>wánnàh</u> líttáafli	= [this book]
<u>Is. + Hd.</u> :	<u>dáyá</u> líttáafli ⁽¹⁾	= [the other book]
<u>Dim. + Hd.</u> :	<u>dán</u> líttáafli	= [a little book]
<u>Lg. Pos. + Hd.</u> :	<u>nàawá</u> líttáafli ⁽¹⁾	= [my book]
<u>Unlt. Adj. (a) + Hd.</u> :	<u>mákàwàacín</u> líttáafli	= [a beautiful book]
(b) + Hd.:	<u>kàwàatáccén</u> líttáafli	= [a decorated book]
(c) + Hd.:	<u>kyàkkyáawán</u> líttáafli	= [a good book]

(1) For the final -n see Chapter 4 (4.4.1, and 4.4.3)

It should be noted, however, that a Proper Noun is never preceded by Dim. or Unit.Adj. e.g.,

*dán Báláa (with meaning appropriate to the Dim.)

*kàkkárfán Báláa

Combinations with items other than a Non-Dynamic Noun as Head may be illustrated by a combination of any of the pre-Head Qualifiers in the examples given above with any of the examples of other types of Noun, Compound Noun, Adjectival Complex and Adverbial Compound given in the relevant parts of Chapter 5. A random selection of examples may be given here:

- (a) Int.Spec. + Cpd.Nn.I.(B): wàcè rīīgār-rūwáa?
[which rain-coat?]
- (b) Lg.Dem. + Cpd.Nn.II.: wánnàn fàadī-kà-mútù
[this chinaware]
- (c) Dim. + Cpd.Nn.III.: dán fīi-dà-sártsè
[a little euphorbia lateriflora]
- (d) Indef.Spec. + Unit.Adj.: wánf fārīi
[a certain white one]
- (e) Lg.Pos. + Adj.Cx.(a): náakà mài zàané-àh
[your decorated one]
- (f) Unit.Adj. + Adj.Cx.(b): bàakón mài dōokīi
[an unknown horseman]
- (g) Is. + Adv.Cpd.: dáyá cīkīn-gídá-àh
[the other courtyard]

6.1.2 The items which can occur as Head but cannot be preceded by any Pre-Head Qualifier are:

- (i) Rel., (ii) Simp.Adv., (iii) Adv.Cl.

6.1.3

All the remaining items which can occur as Head can be preceded only by certain of the Pre-Head Qualifiers, as shown in Table 2. They can conveniently be described in three groups as follows:

- (a) Lg.Gen., Lg.Pos. and Qt.'s can be preceded by most Pre-Head Qualifiers, viz.,

Lg.Gen. by all except Lg.Pos.

Lg.Pos. " " " Lg.Pos. and Unit Adj.

Qt.'s " " " Is. " Unit Adj.

e.g.,

Spec. + Lg. Gen.: wátá tá kàrán-mískìi
[a certain velvet one]

Is. + Lg.Pos.: dáyá táakà→h
[the other one of yours]

Pos. + Qt.1: nàawá gùdàa úkù→h
[my three ones]

- (b) The following are somewhat restricted in their possible combinations, and can be preceded only by the items shown:

<u>Head</u>	by	<u>Pre-Head Qualifier</u>
<u>Indef.Pr.</u>	"	<u>Spec.'s</u> (<u>Int.</u> , <u>Indef.</u>)
<u>Disj.Pr.</u>	"	<u>Spec.'s</u> (<u>Int.</u> , <u>Indef.</u>), <u>Dim.</u>
<u>Ideo.</u>	"	<u>Spec.'s</u> (<u>nt.</u> , <u>Indef.</u>), <u>Dim.</u> , <u>Lg.Pos.</u>
<u>Is.</u>	"	<u>Spec.'s</u> (<u>Int.</u> , <u>Lg.Dem.</u>), <u>Dim.</u> , <u>Lg.Pos.</u>
<u>Adj.Ph.</u>	"	<u>Spec.</u> (<u>Indef.</u>), <u>Is.</u>

e.g.,

Int.Spec. + Indef.Pr.: wàné wáanè?
[which so-and-so?]

Int.Spec. + Disj.Pr.: wàné nǎi
[who am I (....)?]

<u>Indef.Spec. + Ideo.:</u>	<u>wání</u> yùu	[a certain sensation]
<u>Lg.Dem.Spec. + Is.:</u>	<u>wànnán</u> dáyá↗h	[that other one]
<u>Is. + Adj.Ph.:</u>	<u>dáyá</u> sáabóo fíí dǐh	[the other brand new one]

- (c) Int.Pr. and Spec. (Indef. and Lg.Dem.) in Head position can be preceded only by Dim. and not by any other Pre-Head Qualifier, e.g.,

<u>Dim. + Int.Pr.:</u>	<u>dán</u> wànnée? = [which little one?]
<u>Dim. + Indef.Spec.:</u>	<u>dán</u> wání = [a certain little one]
<u>Dim. + Lg.Dem.:</u>	<u>dán</u> wànnàn = [this little one]

6.1.3.1

TABLE 2Possible Combinations of Head and Pre-Head Qualifiers

Table 2 below shows all the possible combinations of Head and Pre-Head Qualifiers as described in the preceding section:

[All the items which can occur as Head are shown in the right hand margin, and all the items which can occur as Pre-Head Qualifier are shown at the top of the Table. A plus at the intersection of any vertical column and horizontal line indicates that the two items involved can combine, while a blank space indicates that the two items involved cannot combine. Parentheses enclosing a plus indicate the possibility of combination of the two items, but with some additional restrictions which are described after the table.]

TABLE 2

SPECIFIER			Is.	DIM.	Pos.	Unit.	H E A D	TOTAL
Int.	Indef.	Dem.	(-n)		(-n)	Adj.		COMB.
+	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	Dyn.	5+(2)
+	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	Non-Dyn.	5+(2)
+			(+)				Cpd.Nn.I(A)	1+(1)
+	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	Cpd.Nn.I(B)	5+(2)
						+	Cpd.Nn.I(C)	1
+	+	+		(+)	(+)	+	Cpd.Nn.I(D)	4+(2)
+	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	Cpd.Nn.II	5+(2)
+	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	Cpd.Nn.III	5+(2)
+	+			(+)			Disj.	2+(1)
				+			Int.Pr.	1
+	+						Indef.Pr.	2
				+			Spec. (Indef., and Lg.Dem.)	1
+	+	(+)		+	(+)		Qt. (1,2 and 3)	3+(2)
+	+	(+)	(+)	+			Lg.Pos.	3+(2)
+	+	+	(+)	+		+	Lg.Gen.	5+(1)
+	+	(+)	(+)	+	(+)	+	Unit.Adj.(a),(b),(c)	4+(3)
+	+	(+)		+			Ideo.	3+(1)
	+		(+)				Adj.Ph.	1+(1)
+	+	+	(+)	+	(+)		Adj.Cx.(a)	4+(2)
+	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	Adj.Cx.(b),(c)	5+(2)
							Rel.	0
+		+		+	(+)		Is.	3+(1)
							Simp.Adv. (Unit. and Redp.)	0
+	+	+	(*)	+	(+)	+	Adv.Cpd.	5+(2)
							Adv.Cl.	0
18	17	11+ (4)	(13)	15+ (2)	(12)	12		TOTAL

Some of these combinations may be illustrated by the following random examples:

<u>Is. + Lg.Pos.:</u>	dáyá nàawá-ñ = [the other one of mine]
<u>Indef.Spec. + Unt.Adj.:</u>	wàni fariì = [a certain white one]
<u>Pos. + Unt.Adj.:</u>	nàawá báki-ñ = [the black one of mine]
<u>Lg.Dem. + Is.:</u>	wánnán dáyá-ñ = [that other one]
<u>Dim. + Ideo.:</u>	dán sákó-sákó = [a slightly loose one]
<u>Unt.Adj. + Lg.Gen.:</u>	tsóohúwár tá sīlíkīi = [old silken one]
<u>Indef.Spec. + Adj.Ph.:</u>	wádánsú sàabàbbíi káw = [certain brand new ones]

Other examples may be obtained by combining examples of the items concerned as given in Chapter 5.

The further restrictions referred to in introducing Table 2 all involve the necessary co-occurrence of some Post-Head Qualifiers along with certain Pre-Head Qualifiers, viz.,

- (i) Dim. can precede Cpd.Nn. I.(D), but such a combination requires the co-occurrence of Rel.(b) in Post-Head position, e.g.,

dán fárín-jíníi dà tá sóomàa súkèe kyàashíi
[a little popularity which she has started to develop
that they envy]

'yár fárár-kásáa dà yá sáyóo táa jíkèe
[a little whitewash which he bought has got wet]

- (ii) Dim. can also precede Disj.Pr. Head only with the necessary co-occurrence of Sh.Dem. in Post-Head position, e.g.,

dán níi dín nàh (náa ísá ráinàa ká?)
[can a little creature (like) me here despise you?]

- (iii) Lg.Dem. in Pre-Head position requires the co-occurrence

- (a) of Ref. when Qt.3 is in Head position, e.g.,

wàdànnán ùkù-ùkù→h = [those three each]

- (b) of a Post-Head Qualifier of any kind when Lg.Pos. or Ideo. is in Head position, provided that the co-occurring Post-Head Qualifier can occur after the particular Head. e.g.,

Lg.Dem.+Lg.Pos.(Hd.)+Ref.: wánnán náakà→h =
[that one of yours]

Lg.Dem.+Ideo.(Hd.)+Simp.Unit.Adv.^M: wánnàn cùu hákà (ái...)=
[such a sizzling noise as this..]

- (c) of Simp.Unit.Adv.^M when a Unit.Adj. is in Head position, e.g.,

wánnàn fáfíi hákà (zái bátà kùwá?)

[can this white (mark) this size (really disappear?)]

ínáa kùkà sàamí wánnàn káatò hákà?

[where have you got a big (one) such as this]

- (iv) The Is. and Lg.Pos. in pre-Head position require the co-occurrence of a Ref. in post-Head position, e.g.,

Is. + Hd.: dáyá líttáafi→h = [the other book]

But not: *dáyá líttáafii

Pos. + Hd.: nàawá líttáafi→h = [my book]

But not: *nàawá líttáafii

6.1.4 It has been shown that, of the various items functioning as Head, some of them (viz.: Nouns, most Compound Nouns, Unitary Adjective, Adjectival Complex and Adverbial Compound) can be preceded by any of the Pre-Head Qualifiers; some cannot be preceded by any Pre-Head Qualifier at all (viz., Relative Clause, Simple Adverb and

Adverbial Cluster); while the remainder can be preceded only by certain, but not by all, of the Pre-Head Qualifiers.

6.2 Head preceded by more than one Pre-Head Qualifier

The general statement can be made that, where a Head can be combined with a number of different Pre-Head Qualifiers, any two or more of these Qualifiers can occur in combination with such Head. A Non-Dynamic Noun, for example, can be preceded by any of the Pre-Head Qualifiers (see 6.1), combinations such as the following, therefore, are also possible with such a Noun as Head:-

Indef.Spec. + Dim. + Hd. wání dǎn líttáaffi
[a certain little book]

Is. + Lg.Pos. + Unit.Adj. + Hd.: dáyá náakà kàrámin líttáaffi → h
[your other small book]

Then it is only necessary to state the following exceptions:

- (i) The three sub-types of Specifier are mutually exclusive; and all are also mutually exclusive with the Isolator.
- (ii) In general, only one item from any given type of Pre-Head Qualifier can occur with any given Head; but in the sole case of the Adjective, a number of items can occur together either alone or in combination with other Pre-Head Qualifiers, before the same Head, each Adjective being followed by the appropriate Adjectival Link (-n/-r/-n). There appears to be some kind of sequential ordering of such Adjectives, for instance a colour Adjective always occurs last in any sequence in which it occurs, e.g.,

(wání) kòosásshén dóogón fárin dóokli
[a tall well-fed white horse]

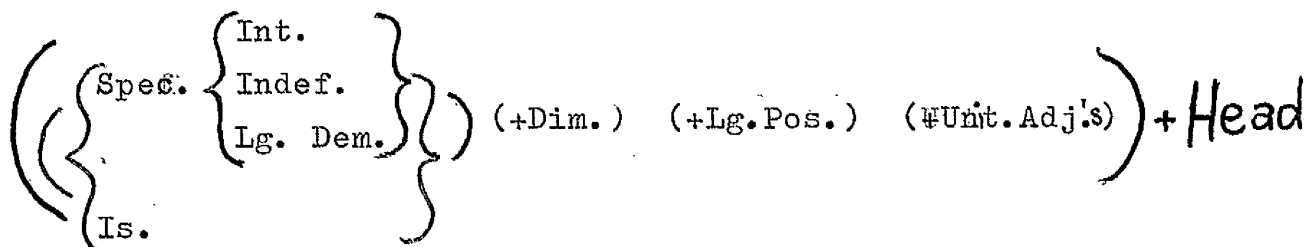
Not: *fárin kòosásshén dóogón dóokli

Or: *dóogón fárin kòosásshén dóokli

6.2.1

Since the Specifiers and Isolator are mutually exclusive, the maximum number of places to be filled in Pre-Head position is four, and since these Qualifiers are all optional elements in the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase, any number from one to the maximum of four of these places may be filled. The sequential order, however, is fixed, so that where these four places are filled the first is filled by the Specifier or the Isolator, the second by the Diminutive, the third by the Long Possessive, and the fourth by the Unitary Adjective. This sequential order also remains the same where less than four of these places are filled.

The structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase where the Head is accompanied by only the Pre-Head Qualifiers can, therefore, be summarised as follows:



The braces enclose the mutually exclusive elements, and the parentheses enclose the optional elements in the structure of the simple NP. The outside parentheses enclosing all the items, except the Head, indicate that all these items are optional and only the Head is an obligatory element; so that there can be any one of these optional elements, or any two, or any three, or all the four preceding the same Head of a Simple Nominal Phrase.

Some examples of the possible combinations are here given with a Non-Dynamic Noun functioning as Head. Combinations with items other than Non-Dynamic Noun in Head position may be illustrated by a combination of any examples of the Pre-Head Qualifiers as

given in Table 2, with examples of the various other types of items which can occur as Head, e.g.,

<u>Spec. + Dim. + Hd. :</u>	<u>wání dǎn líttáafí</u> [à certain little book]
<u>Is. + Lg. Pos. + Unit. Adj. + Hd. :</u>	<u>dáyá nàawá fàrín líttáafí</u> [the other white book of mine]
<u>Spec. + Dim. + Lg. Pos. + Unit. Adj. + Hd. :</u>	<u>wání dǎn nàawá kàráfín líttáafí</u> [another little book of mine]
<u>Is. + Dim. + Lg. Pos. + Unit. Adj. + Hd. :</u>	<u>dáyá dǎn nàawá kàráfín líttáafí</u> [the other little book of mine]

6.2

Conclusion

In the light of this, the following generalisations can be made:

Pre-Head Qualifiers:

Pre-Head Qualifiers can be grouped under three headings, on the basis of the number of different types of item in Head position with which they can combine. The figures given below indicate the number of types of Head with which each Qualifier can combine, the figures given in brackets referring to cases where the Qualifier can occur only with the co-occurrence of another Qualifier.

(a) Qualifiers with high combinability:

Int.Spec.	18
Indef.Spec.	17
Dim.	15 + (2)

(b) Qualifiers with moderate combinability:

Lg.Dem.	11 + (4)
Unit.Adj.	11

(c) Qualifiers with low combinability:

Is. 0+ (13)

Lg. Pos. 0+ (12)

Head:

Similarly, the items occurring as Head can be grouped under four headings on the basis of the number of Pre-Head Qualifiers with which they can combine:

(a) Readily combinable:

Dyn.Nn. 5+(2)

Adv.Cpd. 5+(2)

Non-Dy.Nn. 5+(2)

Lg.Gen. 5+(1)

Cpd.Nn.I(b) 5+(2)

Unit.Adj. 4+(3)

Cpd.Nn.II. 5+(2)

Cpd.Nn.I(d) 4+(2)

Cpd.Nn.III. 5+(2)

Adj.Cx.(a) 4+(2)

Adj.Cx.(b-c)

(b) Relatively low combinability:

Qt. 3+(2)

Ideo. 3+(1)

Lg.Pos. 3+(2)

Is. 3+(1)

(c) Low combinability:

Disj.Pr. 2+(1)

Cpd.Nn.I(c) 1

Indef.Pr. 2

Int.Pr. 1

Cpd.Nn.I(a) 1+(1)

Spec. 1

Adj.Ph. 1+(1)

(d) Non-combinable:

Rel; Simp.Adv.; Adv.Cl.

Furthermore, there is a strict sequential order which applies whenever two or more Pre-Head Qualifiers co-occur in qualification of the same Head.

CHAPTER 7

HEAD WITH ONE POST-HEAD QUALIFIER

The items which occur as Post-Head Qualifier in the Simple NP have been mentioned in Chapter 4 (4.3, 4.4.2, 4.4.3, and 4.4.4). The great majority of them can occur after a given Head without the necessary co-occurrence of any other Qualifier, and most can occur in sequences of two or more in qualification of the same Head, but a few can occur only with the necessary co-occurrence of another Qualifier.

In this Chapter, only NP's containing one Post-Head Qualifier are considered, leaving any co-occurrence of two or more Qualifiers in the same NP to be dealt with in Chapters 8, 9, and 10. It is also convenient to exclude from consideration in this Chapter, NP's having Dynamic Nouns as Head, since they are unusual in some respects. Such NP's are discussed in Chapter 11. Furthermore, Non-Adverbial and Adverbial Qualifiers are dealt with separately, since the latter are less frequently found as Qualifiers except after a Dynamic Noun Head.

Consideration is first given to NP's with a non-Adverbial item functioning as Head, beginning with those having a Noun as Head and then those having a Compound Noun as Head, and so on; NP's having an Adverbial item as Head are then examined, and this account is followed by a table summarising all the possible combinations.

The following list comprises all the various items discussed in this Chapter:

Non-Adverbial Items as Head

<u>Head</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Head</u>	<u>Page</u>
Non-Dynamic Noun	114	Adjectival Phrase	131
Compound Noun	117	Adjectival Complex	133
Pronoun -----	119	Genitival Complex	134
Unitary Adjective	122	Quantifier -----	135
Specifier -----	126	Relative Clause	137
Long Possessive	129	Isolator -----	137
Ideophone	130		

Adverbial Items as Head

Simple Adverb	139
Adverbial Compound	140
Adverbial Cluster	140

The Post-Head Qualifiers relevant for discussions in this Chapter are the following:

Non-Adverbial Post-Head Qualifiers

Qt. 1, 2, 3	Adj. Cx. (a), (b), (c)
Indet. Q.	Rel. (a), (b)
Lg. Pos.	Ref.
Lg. Gen	Sh. Dem.
Unit. Adj. (a), (b), (c)	Sh. Pos.
Gem. Adf.	Sh. Gen.
Ideo.	
Adj. Ph. (a), (b), (c)	

Adverbial Post-Head Qualifiers

Simp.¹ Adv. (Unit.), (Redp.), (Adv. Deg.),

Adv. Cpd.,

Adv. Cx. (a), (b), (c), (d), (e),

Adv. Cl.

Adv. Ph. (a), (b)

Of the various items which can occur as Head, none can be followed by the whole range of these Post-Head Qualifiers; on the other hand, in contrast with what was said about the Pre-Head Qualifiers, every item functioning as Head can be followed by at least one type of Post-Head Qualifier. Some combinations are subject to certain supplementary restrictions, while others are not so restricted.

7.1 With a Non-Dynamic Noun as Head

Where a Non-Dynamic Noun is in Head position every one of the Non-Adverbial Post-Head Qualifiers can follow the Head, and, of the Adverbial Qualifiers, the following can also occur:

Adv. Cx. (a), (b), (d), (e)

e.g.,

+ Qt.1:	<u>littáafii</u> (<u>gùdàa</u>) <u>dáyá</u>	= [one book]
+ Qt.2:	<u>littàttàfái</u> <u>kàdán</u>	= [few books]
+ Qt.3:	<u>littàttàfái</u> <u>úkù úkù</u>	= [three books each]
+ Indet.Q.	<u>littáafii</u> <u>kàzàa</u>	= [such and such a book]
+ Unit.Adj.(a)	<u>dóokii</u> <u>málàalàacíi</u>	= [lazy horse]
+ Unit.Adj.(b)	<u>dóokii</u> <u>hòorárrée</u>	= [well trained horse]
+ Unit.Adj.(c)	<u>dóokii</u> <u>fáarii</u>	= [a white horse]

+ <u>Gem.Adj.</u> :	dáwáakíi <u>íríi-íríi</u>	= [different kinds of horses]
+ <u>Ideo.</u> :	rīgáa <u>sùkùtúm</u>	= [a complete gown]
+ <u>Adj.Ph.(a)</u> :	rīgáa <u>sáabúwáa káw</u>	= [a brand new gown]
+ <u>Adj.Ph.(b)</u> :	rīgáa <u>kyàkkyáawáa áinùm</u>	= [a very good gown]
+ <u>Adj.Ph.(c)</u> :	rīgáa <u>kòonánníyáa à hánnú</u>	= [gown touched by fire on the sleeve]
+ <u>Adj.Cx.(a)</u> :	yáaròo <u>màì áiklì</u>	= [hard-working boy]
+ <u>Adj.Cx.(b)</u> :	yáaròo <u>màì hánkàlìi</u>	= [intelligent boy]
+ <u>Adj.Cx.(c)</u> :	yáaròo <u>màì fàrín-jíníi</u>	= [popular boy]
+ <u>Rel.(a)</u> :	yáaròo <u>wàndà ká gánfì</u>	= [a boy whom you saw]
+ <u>Rel.(b)</u> :	mùtäänée <u>dà ká gánfì</u>	= [people whom you saw]
+ <u>Ref.</u> :	mùtääné→h	= [the people]
+ <u>Sh.Dem.</u> :	mùtääné→h <u>nán</u>	= [those people]
+ <u>Sh.Pos.</u> :	mùtääné→nmù	= [our people]
+ <u>Sh.Gen.</u> :	mùtääné→n <u>Ingilà</u>	= [English people]
+ <u>Adv.Cx.(a)</u> :	àttáajíríi <u>à móotàa</u>	= [a rich man in a car]
+ <u>Adv.Cx.(b)</u> :	àttáajíríi <u>dàgà Kánòo</u>	= [a rich man from Kano]
+ <u>Adv.Cx.(d)</u> :	àttáajíríi <u>dà yáarònsà</u>	= [a rich man with his
+ <u>Adv.Cx.(e)</u> :	àttáajíríi <u>ì kái</u>	= [a rich man ^{servant} like you]

There are other Adverbial Qualifiers (viz., Adv.Cpd., Adv.Cl., and Adv.Ph.) which can occur after Non-Dynamic Noun Head but, since they require the co-occurrence of another Qualifier, discussion of their combinations is deferred to Chapter 10 (10.2).

7.1.1

There are, however, certain supplementary restrictions in connection with some of these combinations, perhaps determined by semantic compatibility, viz.,

- (a) Abstract Noun ~~of any sub-type~~ and Proper Noun in Head position are not followed by:

Indet. Q., or Adj. Ph. (a), (b), (c)

e.g.:

<u>Abs. + Indet.Q.:</u>	*gírmáa <u>kàzáa</u>
<u>Prop. + Indet.Q.:</u>	*Bàláa <u>kàzáa</u>
<u>Abs. + Adj.Ph.(a):</u>	*gírmáa <u>bàbbá fánkáméemèe</u>
<u>Prop. + Adj.Ph.(a):</u>	*Bàláa <u>gàjéerée dúkús</u>
<u>Abs. + Adj.Ph.(b):</u>	*gírmáa <u>bàbbá kwárái</u>
<u>Prop. + Adj.Ph.(b):</u>	*Bàláa <u>gàjéerée kwárái</u>
<u>Abs. + Adj.Ph.(c):</u>	*gírmáa <u>bàbbá dà shíi</u>
<u>Prop. + Adj.Ph.(c):</u>	*Bàláa <u>gàjéerée dà shíi</u>

(b) Proper Nouns in Head position cannot be followed by:

Qt. 1, 2, or 3

Gem.Adj.

e.g.:	<u>Prop. + Qt.1:</u>	*Bàláa <u>gùdáa dáyá</u>
	<u>Prop. + Qt.3:</u>	*Áudù <u>bíyú-bíyú</u>
	<u>Prop. + Qt.2:</u>	*Kándo <u>dà yáwàa</u>
	<u>Prop. + Gem.Adj.:</u>	*Wàtáí <u>írlí-írlí</u>

(c) Abstract Nouns are not followed by Adjectival Complex (a).

e.g.:	*mùgùntáa <u>màí kísàa</u>
	*gírmáa <u>màí fítáa</u>

7.2

With a Compound Noun as Head

In general, Compound Nouns behave syntactically within the NP in much the same way as Nouns; but the behavioural distinction between Compound Nouns which could be classified as 'Dynamic' and those which could be classified as 'Non-Dynamic' (and further as Proper, Common, Abstract, etc.) is not as marked as in the case of Nouns. Thus:

- (i) while Dynamic Nouns can be followed by Adv.Cx.(c), e.g.,
 hàrbli tá táagàa = [shooting through the window],
 'Dynamic' Compound Nouns such as rùfàa-idó = [theft by
 charm] cannot.
- (ii) while Non-Dynamic Nouns can be followed by Unt.Adj.(a),
 e.g., dóokli mágùjii = [a fast horse],
 this is not true of 'Non-Dynamic' Compound Nouns such as
 bàkán-gizò = [rainbow].³ apart from Compound Noun I(a)
 which itself behave like a Proper Noun (e.g. máalàm Audù
 máhàddàcfi = [Malam Audu the reciter]).

Again, in almost every syntactic type of Compound Noun, there are items which can be regarded, for reasons similar to those described in Chapter 2 (2.1.1), as Dynamic, and some others which can be regarded as Non-Dynamic, Compound Nouns; but all are followed by the same types of Post-Head Qualifiers. e.g.

In Cpd.Nn.I(b), are items such as tàarín-shfikàa = [whooping cough] which can be regarded as Concrete, and záafín-hánnùu = [being quick-tempered] which can be regarded as Abstract, Compound Nouns; but they are all followed by the same types of Post-Head Qualifiers.

- (iii) Two items from different syntactic types of Compound Noun have different behaviour, irrespective of whether they can both be, say, Dynamic or not. The Compound Noun kárin-màgánàa = [proverb], for example, can be followed by:

Sh.Pos.: e.g., kárin-màgánà-rsà = [his proverb]

Unit.Adj.(c) e.g., kárin-màgánàa sáabúwáa = [new proverb]

and by several other Post-Head Qualifiers, none of which can follow the Compound Noun yáakli-dà-jáahílcíi = [adult education], although both items can be described as Dynamic; the main reason being that the former belongs to Cpd.Nn.I(b) while the latter belongs to Cpd.Nn.I(c).

The details of possible combinations with the Compound Noun are so numerous that they cannot be given here, but they are shown in Table 3 below. Only a few combinations are exemplified here. The Post-Head Qualifier in each case is Quantifier 1.

Cpd.Nn.I(b): rìligár-rúwáa (gùdá) dáyá
[one raincoat]

Cpd.Nn.I(d): fárár-kásáa gwángwánfi dáyá
[one tin of whitewash]

Cpd.Nn.II.(a): fàadí-kà-mùtù gùdáa dáyá
[one piece of china]

Cpd.Nn.II.(b): jàa-gàbá mùtùm úkù
[three guides]

Cpd.Nn.II.(c): báa-kàa-zúwàa-kòogfi túrmfi dáyá
[one bundle of unwashable material]

Cpd.Nn.III.: fíi-dà-sáartsè gíndfi dáyá
[one root of euphorbia lateriflora]

7.3

With a Pronoun as Head

The three types of Pronoun have different distributional characteristics, in that:

- (a) A Disjunctive Pronoun in Head position can be followed⁽¹⁾ by:

Ref.	Adj.Cx. (a),(b),(c)
Qt.1,2,3	Rel. (b)
Indet.Q.	<u>and by:</u> Adv.Cx.(e)

- (b) The Interrogative Pronoun can be followed by:

Ref.	Adj.Cx. (a),(b),(c)
Sh.Pos.	Rel. (b)
	<u>and by:</u> Simp.Unit.Adv. ^M
	Adv.Cpd.

- (c) The Indefinite Pronoun can be followed by the same Qualifiers as the Disjunctive Pronoun, the exceptions being Qt.3 and Adv.Cx.(e) which cannot follow the Indefinite Pronoun. It can also be followed by:

(1) Combinations of Disj. + Lg.Pos. (e.g. shíi náakà = [the one belonging to you]), or Disj. + Lg.Gen. (e.g. shíi ná Audù = [the one belonging to Audù]), or Disj. + Unit.Adj.(a) (e.g. shíi mähàddàcì = [the one with nice cooing]), or Disj. + Unit.Adj.(b) (e.g. shíi wànkákkée = [the one which is washed]), or Disj. + Unit.Adj.(c) (e.g. shíi fàfii = [the one which is white]) could be analysed as either Simple Nominal Phrase or as Appositional Nominal Phrase. They are here regarded as Appositional Nominal Phrases, since wàatàu = [I mean] could be inserted between the Disj. and the following item; although, admittedly, the matter is arguable.

Sh. Pos.	Unit. Adj. (a), (b), (c)
Sh. Gen.	
Lg. Pos.	
Lg. Gen.	

and also by: Adv. Cx. (d)
Adv. Cl. L. (St. 4-5)
Adv. Ph. (a), (b)

All these combinations may be illustrated by the following examples:

Hd. + Ref.: (a) Disj.: shfi dfin = [he / him]
 (b) Int.: wānnée dfin = [which one]
 (c) Indef.: wāanè dfin = [the so-and-so]

Hd. + Sh.Pos. : (a) Disj. :
 (b) Int. : wàccé^e-nsù = [which one of them?]
 (c) Indf. : wáanè^e-nkà = [your so-and-so]

Hd. + Sh.Gen.: (a) Disj.:
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Indf.: wáanè-n Audũ = [so-and-so of Audu]

Hd. + Lg.Pos.: (a) Disj.: (see Footnote p. 119)
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Indf.: wáncè tá wáanè = [so-and-so of so-and-so]

Hd. + Qt.1:

(a) Disj.: súu (súu) bìyár = [five of them]

(b) Int.

(c) Indif.: sú wáanè súu úkù = [so-and-so, three of them]

Hd. + Qt.2:

(a) Disj.: súu (súu) dà yáwàa = [many of them]

(b) Int.:

(c) Indef.: sú wáanè súu dà yáwàa = [so-and-so,
many of them]

- Hd. + Qt.3: (a) Disj.: sùu úkù-úkù = [they, in threes]
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Ind^ef.:
- Hd. + Unt.Adj.(a): (a) Disj. (see Footnote p. 119)
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Ind^ef.: wáanè máhàddàcìi = [so-and-so the reciter]
- Hd. + Unt.Adj.(b): (a) Disj.: (see Footnote p. 119)
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Ind^ef.: wáanè dàurárrée = [so-and-so the prisoner]
- Hd. + Unt.Adj.(c): (a) Disj.: (see Footnote p. 119)
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Ind^ef.: wáncè bàakíwáa = [so-and-so the guest]
- Hd. + Adj.Cx.(a): (a) Disj.: sùu màasú káaráa = [they who have grievances]
 (b) Int.: wàa màì káaràa? = [who has grievances?]
 (c) Ind^ef.: wáncè màì kítsòo = [so-and-so the hairdresser]
- Hd. + Adj.Cx.(b): (a) Disj.: sùu màasú tíkítì = [they who have tickets]
 (b) Int.: wàdànnée màasú tíkítì = [which ones who have tickets?]
 (c) Ind^ef.: wáanè màì dóókìi = [so-and-so who has a horse]
- Hd. + Adj.Cx.(c): (a) Disj.: shíi màì wánnàh = [he who has this one]
 (b) Int.: wàa màì shíi = [who has got it?]
 (c) Ind^ef.: sù wáanè màasú shíi = [so-and-so who have got it]
- Hd. + Rel.(b): (a) Disj.: mfu dà kákèe gánìi = [we whom you are looking at]
 (b) Int.: wàa dà yá zòò = [who_{who} has come?]
 (c) Ind^ef.: wáanè dà yá mütù = [so-and-so who has died]

- Hd. + Simp. Unit. Adv.^M: (a) Disj.:
 (b) Int.: wànnée haka? = [whom like that?
 who with that name?]
 (c) Indf.:
- Hd. + Adv. Cpd.: (a) Disj.:
 (b) Int.: wànnée cíkínsù = [which of them?]
 (c) Indf.:
- Hd. + Adv. Cx. (d): (a) Disj.:
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Indf.: wáanè dà jàakíi = [so-and-so with
 a donkey]
- Hd. + Adv. Cx. (e): (a) Disj.: níi ì kái = [if I were you]
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Indf.:
- Hd. + Adv. Cl. (a): (a) Disj.:
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Indf.: sú wáanè cán báayá = [so-and-so
 there at the back]
- Hd. + Adv. Cl. (b): (a) Disj.:
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Indf.: sú wáanè nán tsàyè = [so-and-so who
 happened to be standing there]
- Hd. + Adv. Ph. (a): (a) Disj.:
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Indf.: wáanè dàuké dà káayáa = [so-and-so
 carrying luggage]
- Hd. + Adv. Ph. (b): (a) Disj.:
 (b) Int.:
 (c) Indf.: sú wáanè dàgà dáamá dà mǔu = [so-
 and-so who are on our right]

7.4

With a Unitary Adjective as Head

Any of the three sub-types of Unitary Adjective functioning

as Head can be followed by each of the following Qualifiers:

(a) Non-Adverbial:

Ref.	Unit. Adj. (c)
Sh. Dem.	Gem. Adj.
Sh. Pos.	Adj. Ph. (a), (b), (c)
Sh. Gen.	Adj. Cx. (a), (b)
Qt. 1	Rel. (a), (b)

(b) Adverbial:

Simp. Unit. Adv. ^M	Adv. Cl. ^{L, St,}
Adv. Cx. (a), (b), (e)	

Examples of such combinations may be produced by combining one or other of the following Adjectives with any of the Qualifiers given above, subject to semantic compatibility:

(a) Unit. Adj. (a):

mágùjfi / mágújiyáa / mágùdàa = [speedy]
 mādīnkīi / mādīnkīiyáa / mādīnkāa = [one who sews (tailor)]
 málàalàacfi / málàalàaciyáa / málàalàatāa = [lazy]

(b) Unit. Adj. (b):

wànkákkée / wànkákkīyáa / wànkàkkúu = [washed (clean)]
 zàanānnée / zàanānnīyáa / zàanānnúu = [patterned]
 shàhàrárrée / shàhàrárrīyáa / shàhàràrrúu = [famous]

(c) Unit. Adj. (c):

gàjéerée / gàjéerīyáa / gàjèerúu = [short]
 fārīi / fārāa / fāràarée = [white]
 bàakóo / bàakúwáa / bàakīi = [strange(r)]

7.4.1

A distinction needs to be made between two different usages of Unitary Adjective + Sh. Pos.:

- (a) with possessive meaning, corresponding to usages of the Possessive in Nn. + Pos. construction, as shown at the end of this section, e.g.,

sáabó→ńsà = [his new (mas.) one]

sáabúwá→ńsà = [his new (fem.) one]

sáabó→ńtà = [her new (mas.) one]

sáabúwá→ńtà = [her new (fem.) one]

Here the gender and number of:

(i) Adjectival suffix, and

(ii) Link element

is controlled by one antecedent, and the gender and number of:

(iii) The pronominal element

is controlled by a different antecedent, e.g.,

A masc. sg. and B also masc. sg.:	sáabónsà
A " " but B is fem. " :	sáabóntà
A " " " B " pl.:	sáabónsù
A fem. " " B " masc. sg.:	sáabúwársà
A " " and B also fem. " :	sáabúwártà
A " " but B is pl.:	sáabúwársù
A.pl. " " B " masc. sg.:	sàabàbbínsà
A " " B " fem. " :	sàabàbbíntà
A " and B also pl.:	sàabàbbínsù

- (b) describing a State or Stage:

Here the gender and number of:

- (i) Adjectival Suffix
- (ii) Link leement, and
- (iii) The pronominal element

are all controlled by a single antecedent; they are, therefore, all three always of the same gender and number,

e.g., sáab-ó-ń-sà = [(it masc.) brand new]
 sáab-úwá-ń-tà = [(it fem.) brand new]
 sàab-àbhi-ń-sù = [(they) brand new]

To summarise these two different usages of Unt.Adj. + Sh.Pos. the position may be compared with the corresponding construction with the Noun in the place of Unt.Adj.; as in the following table:

	Noun + Sh.Gen.	Noun + Sh.Poss.	Adj. + Sh.Gen.	Adj. + Sh.Poss.
Possessive	àkwààtīn Audù	àkwààtīnsà	sáábón Audù	sáábónsà
Subjective	kúúkán) tàfíyàr) Audù	kúúkán) tàfíyàr) -sà	-----	-----
Objective	hárbīh dààmísa kúúkán Audù (ná. káawóo)	hárbīh) kúúkán) -sà (na. kaawoo)	-----	-----
Descriptive	àkwààtīn kárfèè	-----	sáábón kárfèè	-----
Stative	-----	-----	-----	sáábónsà

7.5

With a Specifier as Head

Both Long Demonstrative and Indefinite Specifiers can be followed by the following Non-Adverbial Qualifiers:

Ref.	Qt. 1
Sh. Dem.	Rel. (a), (b)
Lg.Gen.	

In addition to these, the Indefinite Specifier can also be followed by a considerable variety of Qualifiers, Adverbial as well as Non-Adverbial, viz.,

(a) Non-Adverbial Qualifiers:

Sh.Pos.	Gem.Adj.
Lg.Pos.	Adj.Ph. (a), (b), (c)
Qt. 2	Adj.Cx. (a), (b), (c)
Unit.Adj. (c)	

(b) Adverbial Qualifiers:

Simp.Unit. Adv. ^M
Adv.Cx. (a), (d), (e)
Adv.Cl. ^I , St.
Adv.Ph. (a), (b)

All these combinations can be illustrated by the following examples:

+ <u>Ref.:</u>	<u>Indef.:</u>	wání- <u>h</u> / wání <u>díh</u>	= [the other one/someone]
	<u>Lg.Dem.:</u>	wáhnán <u>díh</u>	= [(I mean) that one]
+ <u>Sh.Dem.</u>	<u>Indef.:</u>	wání <u>díh</u> <u>nán</u>	= [that other one]
	<u>Lg.Dem.:</u>	wáhnán <u>díh</u> <u>nán</u>	= [that very one]
+ <u>Sh.Pos.</u>	<u>Indef.:</u>	wání- <u>nkù</u>	= [one of you]
+ <u>Lg.Pos.</u>	<u>Indef.:</u>	wání <u>nàawá</u>	= [another one of mine]
+ <u>Lg.Gen.</u>	<u>Indef.:</u>	wání <u>ná</u> <u>kárfèe</u>	= [another steel one]
	<u>Lg.Dem.:</u>	wáhnán <u>ná</u> <u>báayá</u>	= [that one behind]
+ <u>Qt.1:</u>	<u>Indef.:</u>	wáni <u>gùdàa</u> <u>dáyá</u>	= [another single one]
	<u>Lg.Dem.:</u>	wàdàncán <u>gùdàa</u> <u>úkù</u>	= [three of those]
+ <u>Qt.2:</u>	<u>Indef.:</u>	wádánsú <u>kàdán</u>	= [a few others]
+ <u>Unit.Adj.(c)</u>	<u>Indef.:</u>	wání <u>sáabóo</u>	= ^{an} [other new one]
+ <u>Gem.Adj.</u>	<u>Indef.:</u>	wádánsú <u>írìi-írìi</u>	= [others of various kinds]

- + Adj.Ph.(a) Indef.: wádánsù sàabàbbfi fíl = [other brand new ones]
- + Adj.Ph.(b) Indef.: wádánsù máhyáa kwárái = [other very big ones]
- + Adj.Cx.(a) Indef.: wání màì cfi = [another voracious one]
- (b) Indef.: wání màì hánkàlfi = [another intelligent one]
- (c) Indef.: wání màì shíi = [another one having it]
- + Rel. (a) Indef.: wání wándà ká gáníi = [someone you saw]
- Lg.Dem.: wáhnán wándà ká gáníi = [that one you saw]
- (b) Indef.: wádánsù dà yá káawóo = [others that he brought]
- Lg.Dem.: wádánnán dà yá ájlyée = [those which he kept]
- + Simp.Uni.^M Indef.: wání hákà = [someone like that]
- + Adv.Cx.(a) Indef.: wádánsù à wàjé = [others outside]
- (b) " wádánsù dàgà hágú = [others to the left]
- (d) " wádánsù dà jáakúnàa = [others with donkeys]
- (e) " wání ì wánnàn = [another one like this]
- + Adv.Cl.^L: Indef.: wání cán báayá = [someone right at the back there]
- + Adv.Cl.^{St.}: Indef.: wání nán tsàyé = [someone standing just there]
- + Adv.Ph.(a): Indef.: wání dàuké dà káayáa = [someone carrying loads]
- (b): Indef.: wání dàgà dáamá dà múu = [someone to our right]

It is worth noting that the Indefinite Specifier Head followed by the Short Possessive Post-Head (e.g., wánínkù = [one of you]) is, semantically, equivalent to Indefinite Specifier Head followed by the Adverbial Complex (b) dàgà cíkínkù (e.g., wání dàgà cíkínkù = [one from among you]); i.e. not possessive in meaning, whereas the Long Possessive in the same position (e.g., wání náakù = [one of yours]) is possessive in meaning.

7.6

With the Long Possessive as Head

The Long Possessive in Head Position is, like the Indefinite Specifier, followed by a relatively wide range of Post-Head Qualifiers, viz.,

(a) Non-Adverbial:

Ref.	Unit. Adj. (a), (b), (c)
Sh. Dem.	Adj. Ph. (a), (b), (c)
Qt. 1	Adj. Cx. (a), (b), (c)
Lg. Gen.	Rel. (a), (b)

(b) Adverbial:

Simp. Unit. Adv. ^M
Adv. Cx. (e)
Adv. Ph. (b)

Examples of each of these combinations may be given, as shown below:

+ Ref.:	náakà→h̄ = [the one of yours]
+ Sh. Dem.:	náakà→h̄ nán = [that one of yours]
+ Lg. Gen.:	tàawá tá s̄ilík̄l̄i = [my (fem.) silk one]
+ Qt. 1:	táasà ḡudáa d̄áyá = [his single (fem.) one]
+ Unit. Adj. (a):	nàawà m̄ah̄add̄ac̄ii = [my nice-cooking one (masc.)]
+ Unit. Adj. (b):	táatà z̄aan̄ann̄iyáa = [her embroidered one (fem.)]
+ Unit. Adj. (c):	náamù f̄ar̄àar̄ée = [our white (pl.) ones]
+ Adj. Ph. (a):	táamù f̄ar̄áa s̄ál = [our very white one (fem.)]
+ Adj. Ph. (b):	táamù j̄áa áin̄ùn = [our quite red one (fem.)]
+ Adj. Ph. (c):	táamù s̄aab̄úw̄áa dà ìtá = [our nicely new one]
+ Adj. Cx. (a):	náasù m̄ai m̄aḡán̄aa = [theirs which can talk]
+ Adj. Cx. (b):	náasù m̄aasú z̄aan̄ée = [their embroidered ones]
+ Adj. Cx. (c):	náasù m̄aasú f̄ar̄íi kw̄arái = [their very white ones]
+ Rel. (a):	náasà w̄ad̄and̄a k̄á s̄án̄íi = [his ones which you know]

- + Rel. (b): náású dà ká sán̄i = [his ones that you know]
 + Uñt. Adv. ^M: nàawá hákà = [mine just like that]
 + Adv. Cx. (e): nàawá ì wánnàn = [mine like this one]
 + Adv. Ph. (b): náasù dàgà dáamá dà múu = [theirs to our right]

7.7

With Ideophone as Head

Ideophones in Head position are, in general, followed by more than one Qualifier or no Qualifier at all. There are, however, three Qualifiers which can follow certain types of Ideophone as sole Qualifier, viz.,

(a) Non-Adverbial Qualifiers:

Sh. Dem.

Rel. (b)

(b) Adverbial Qualifier:

Adv. Cx. (d)

7.7.1

Sh. Dem. occurs after the following two sub-types:

(1) Ideo. Type A.I. (a), :(i) Sub-type (iv), e.g.,fàl-fàl dín nàn (táa yí yáwàa)

[this fluttering flame (is too much)]

(ii) Sub-type (viii), e.g.,sákwá-sákwá-h nán yáa wárgàjée

[the loosely tied one has become unfastened]

(2) Ideo. Type A.II. (a), :(i) Sub-type (i), e.g.,

yùu díh nán (táa fáarà tássóo mäsà)

[that sensation has started to overcome him]

(ii) Sub-type (iv), e.g.,

(dà súkà jí) kàyàa-kàyàa díh nán

[(the moment they heard) that rattling noise]

(iii) Sub-type (v), e.g.,

càkwàl-càkwàl díh nán (táa táayár mäsà dà zúucìyáa)

[that noisy eating has made him sick]

7.7.2

Rel.(b), as sole Qualifier, occurs only after:

(1) Sub-type (ix), e.g.,

zákóo-zàkòò dà ká sán shì dà súu (sún fáadì)

[the prominent ones, which you know he has got, have fallen]

(2) Sub-type (x), e.g.,

hàyàa-hàyàa dà súkà jí (ítá tá káawóo sù)

[the noise of the crowds, which they heard, is what brought
them]

7.7.3

Adv.Cx. (e), as sole Qualifier, occurs only after Ideo. type B.I.

e.g., náa yí kàcìbìs dà Àudù

[I 'bumped into' Àudu]

7.8

With Adjectival Phrase as Head

When in Head position, the three types of Adjectival Phrase may have different syntactic behaviour in other respects, but as regards the single Qualifier that can follow the Head, their behaviour is

comparable, in that they can all be followed by the following Qualifiers:

(a) Non-Adverbial:

Ref.	Unit. Adj. (b), (c)
Sh. Dem.	Gem. Adj.
Lg. Pos.	Adj. Ph. (c)
Lg. Gen.	Rel. (a), (b)
Qt. 1	

(b) Adverbial:

Adv. Cx. (e)

Examples of these combinations may be produced by combining one or other of the following Adjectival Phrases with any of the Qualifiers given above, subject to semantic compatibility:

(a) Adj. Ph. (a):

sáabóo fíl	= [brand new]
zàanānnée rádáu	= [well embroidered]
gàjéeree dúkús	= [very short]

(b) Adj. Ph. (b):

káatùwáa kwárái	= [very big]
hòorárrée áinùn	= [very well trained]
hàdàdúu sòosái	= [well constructed]

(c) Adj. Ph. (c):

kùnsásshiyáa à tákàrdáa	= [which is wrapped in a paper]
yàagággée dàgà kàrbú	= [which is torn on the skirt]
sàabàbbíi dà sùu	= [which are nicely new]

There are some restrictions, however, viz.,

- (a) Of the I.P.H.Q. (Ref., Sh.Dem., Sh.Pos., Sh.Gen.,) Sh.Pos. and Sh.Gen. cannot occur after Adj.Ph.(c).

- (b) The Adjectival Phrase is discontinuous when followed by the I.P.H.Q., e.g.,

+ Ref.: Adj.Ph.(a): sáabó→h fíl = [the brand new one]
Adj.Ph.(b): kǎatùwá→r kwarái = [the very big one]
Adj.Ph.(c): kùnsásshíyá→r à tákàrdáa = [the one wrapped in a piece of paper]

Of the remaining combinations, the following are some examples:

+ Lg. Pos.: Adj.Ph.(a): zàanánnyáa rádáu tàawá =
 [a very well patterned one of mine]
Adj.Ph.(b): hóorárrée sòosái náasà
 [a well trained one of his]
Adj.Ph.(c): sàabàbbfi dà súu náatà
 [some nicely new ones of hers]

+ Adj.Cx.(e): Adj.Ph.(a): zàanànnúu rádáu yà wádànnàh
 [very well patterned ones like these]
Adj.Ph.(b): hðoràrrúu sòosái ì náakà
 [very well trained ones like yours]
Adj.Ph.(c): sàabàbbfi dà sú yà náatà
 [nicely new ones like hers]

7.9

With Adjectival Complex as Head

Adjectival Complex Heads are never followed by any Adverbial form, but the following Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can occur after any Adjectival Complex Head:

Ref.	Qt. 1
Sh. Dem.	Rel. (a), (b)

In addition to this, Adjectival Complex (a) and (b) can both be followed by:

Sh. Pos.
 Sh. Gen.
 Lg. Gen

A few random examples are here given to illustrate some of these combinations:

- + Sh.Dem.: Adj.Cx.(a): mài tàllà→h nán
[that street vendor]
- + Rel.(b): Adj.Cx.(b): mài dōokli dà ká báa mũ làabáarli
[the horseman you told us about]
- + Ref.: Adj.Cx.(c): mài shíi dín
[the owner (of it)]
- + Qt.1: Adj.Cx.(a): mài kōonúwáa dāmli dáyá
[which can be burnt, one bundle]
- + Sh.Pos.: Adj.Cx.(b): mài mádará→fkù
[your milkman]
- + Lg.Gen.: Adj.Cx.(a): mài zàanée tá sīlíklī
[the embroidered one made of silk]

7.10 With a Long Genitival Complex as Head

A Long Genitival Complex in Head position can be followed by any of the following Qualifiers:

(a) Non-Adverbial:

Ref. ⁽¹⁾	Indet.Q.
Sh.Dem.	Unit.Adj. (a), (b), (c)

- (1) There seem to be some restrictions on the type of Genitival Complex which can be followed by an I.P.H.Q., those in which the final item is a Dynamic Noun can apparently be followed by any of the I.P.H.Q.'s, while those ending otherwise can only be followed by Ref. and Sh.Dem. but not by the Sh.Pos. or Sh.Gen.. In such examples as tá góoná→r Audù or tá góoná→rsà = [the one in Audu's farm, or the one in his farm], the Sh.Gen. and the Sh.Pos. seems to be only a component part of the second item in the Lg.Gen. rather than a post-Head Qualifier following the Lg.Gen. Head.

Sh.Pos.	Gem.Adj.
Sh.Gen.	Adj.Ph. (a), (b), (c)
Lg.Gen.	Adj.Cx. (a), (b), (c)
Qt. 1	Rel. (a), (b)

(b) Adverbial:

Adv.Cx. (d), (e)

Adv.Ph. (a), (b)

The following are some random examples of such combinations:

- + Indet.Q.: ná súkùwáa kàzáa (sún bátà)
[racing ones such and such a number are missing]
- + Adj.Cx.(a): tá tàatsáa màí cíl (táa shìgá góonàrà)
[a voracious milch one has entered the farm]
- + Rel.(b): tá dàgà báayá dà ká gáníi (táa kóomàa)
[the last comer which/whom you saw has gone back]
- + Adv.Cx.(d): (kù sàyí ná álkámàa dà dùmíi)
[do buy the hot wheaten one]

7.11 With Quantifier as Head

The three Quantifiers have different pattern of behaviour, in that:

(a) Quantifier 3 can only be followed by:

Ref.

and not by any Qualifiers, e.g.,

úkù-ukù→h = [the three each]

húdí-húdí→h = [the four each]

(b) Quantifier 2 can be followed only by:

7.12

With Relative Clauses as Head

Relative Clauses in Head position are not followed by any Adverbial forms. The Non-Adverbial Qualifiers which can follow them are the following:

Ref.	Unt. Adj. (a), (b), (c)
Sh. Dem.	Gem. Adj.
Lg. Pos.	Adj. Ph. (a), (b), (c)
Lg. Gen.	Adj. Cx. (a), (b)
Qt. 1	

To exemplify these combinations, a number of examples are given of Relative Clauses which may be combined with any of these Qualifiers depending on semantic compatibility:

wàndà ká gáníi	= [whom/which you have seen]
wádàndà súkà fítá	= [who have gone out]
wáhdà ákà yánkàa	= [which have been killed]
wàddà tá háihù	= [who has given birth to a child]
wáhdà yá zóo	= [who has come]

e.g.,

+ <u>Sh.Dem.</u> :	^{gáníi} wàndà ká/ <u>dín nán</u> [that which you have seen]
+ <u>Unt.Adj.(b)</u> :	wáddà ákà yánkàa <u>ràamámmíyáñ nán</u> [that lean one which has been killed]
+ <u>Adj.Cx.(b)</u> :	wáhdà yá zóo <u>màì jàakíi</u> [he who has come who has a donkey]

7.13

With Isolator as Head

Isolator in Head position can be followed only by:

Ref.

Sh. Dem.

7.15

With Simple Adverb as Head

Unitary^{St.} and Reduplicated^{St.} when in Head position, are never followed by a Post-Head Qualifier of any kind. Reduplicated^{T,M} too are never followed by any Post-Head Qualifier.

All the other sub-types of Simple Adverb, when functioning as Head, can be followed by:

Ref.

e.g.,

- (a) Unitary: Loc.: gàbá→h̃ = [the front]
Tem.: bàdí→h̃ = [the next year]
Mod.: hákà→h̃ = [this method/way]
- (b) Reduplicated: Loc.: kasa-kasa→ñ = [a little way underneath]

In addition to this, the Unitary^{L,M} and Reduplicated^L can be followed by:

Sh.Dem.

e.g.,

- (a) Unitary: Loc.: cáń díñ náñ = [that place]
Mod.: hákà→h̃ náñ = [that way]
- (b) Reduplicated: Loc.: géefè→géefè-h̃ náñ = [that side way]

and Unitary^{L,T,M,St.}, can also be followed by:

Rel.(b)

e.g.,

- (a) Loc. cán dà yá kóomàa (bàa zàa tà fisshée sh̃ bá)
 [there where he returned would not save him]
- (b) Tem. bàdí dà yá àmbátàa (zàa tà zóo nèe)
 [next year which he mentions is coming]

- (c) Mod. hákà dà yá yí (báà kyáu)
[what he has done is bad]
- (d) Stat. tsàyé dà yá táashì (ítá tá jáawóo mäsà)
[the standing up which he has done is what brought it on him]

7.16 With Adverbial Compound as Head

An Adverbial Compound Head can be followed by the following:

Ref.	Sh.Pos.
Sh.Dem.	Sh.Gen.

e.g.,

- + Ref.: kóofàr-gídá→h = [space in front of the house]
 + Sh.Dem.: kóofàr-gídá→n nà = [this space in front of this house]
 + Sh.Pos.: kóofàr-gídá→nmù = [our front area]
 + Sh.Gen.: kóofàr-gídá→n Audu = [Audu's front area]

7.17 With Adverbial Cluster as Head

An Adverbial Cluster in Head position can be followed by the following:

Ref.
Rel.(b)

e.g.,

- + Ref.: cáh hákà→h (táa fí búushli)
[that (spot) there, is drier]
(dùubà) cáh kásà-kásà→h
[look(for it) there a little way down]
- + Rel.(b): nán kúsá dà kúu dà yá kóomàa táa fíi mäsà
[there, near you, where he has moved to, is better for him]
cáh báayán gàrìi dà yá fítá bàa zàa tà yí
there, on the outskirts of the city, where he has gone,
will not]

7.18 Supplementary Section on Immediate Post-Head Qualifier

There are special rules applying to the Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers (I.P.H.Q.'s), in that they are preceded by an epenthetic element df (dfi in the case of 1st person Sh.Pos.⁽¹⁾) whenever they occur after any of the following items:

- (a) Any item ending in diphthong -au⁽²⁾ such as táutàu or tsiidáu
 e.g.: +Sh.Dem.: táutàu dfín nà = [this spider]
+Ref.: tsiidáu dfín = [the tsidau plant]
- (b) Any item ending in -r which is preceded by a Low-toned -ù⁽³⁾,
 such as téebùr = [table], fénsùr = [pencil], etc. e.g.:
+Sh.Pos.: téebùr dfínkà = [your table]
+Sh.Gen.: fénsùr dfín Audù = [Audu's pencil]

The alternative to this is to have an anaptyctic vowel -i-, instead of the epenthetic element, e.g. téebùrín = [the table], fénsùrín = [the pencil] instead of téebùr dfín or fénsùr dfín, with no semantic difference whatever.

- (c) Any item ending in any other consonant, or in -r if not preceded by -ù, such táawùl = [towel] or bàabùr = [motorcycle],
 e.g.: +Sh.Dem.: táawùl dfín nà = [this towel]
bàabùr dfín nà = [this motorcycle]
- (d) Any item ending with a Proper Noun (or a Proper Noun itself) which ends in in a diphthong -au or -ai such as Jàatáu or Wámбай; or in a consonant of any kind (e.g. Láwàn, Wùdí, etc.).
 e.g.: +Ref. Wámбай dfín = [the Wambai]

(1) e.g. gàntàmáu dfíná = [my over-grown potatoes (or other vegetables)]

(2) Except the words kyáu = [beauty] and yáu = [permission], é/g/ which behave like the words ending in ai (see next page), e.g.: kyánsà = [its beauty]; dà yáu sárkii = [with the emir's permission]

(3) Or its alternant -i as in kyándir = [candle], e.g. kyándir dfín, or kyándirín = [the candle].

ná Jàatáu din = [the one belonging to Jatau]

Làwàn din = [the Lawan]

tá Wùdííl dín = [the one made in Wudill]

(the Proper Nouns ending in pure vowels, or any item with a Proper Noun ending in a pure vowel as its final element, e.g., Audu, Laadi, or Gwamnaa, Hedimastaa, have free variation, in that they can combine with I.P.H.Q.'s with or without di.

(e) Disjunctive Pronoun, Interrogative Pronoun, and Relative Clause, e.g.,

+ Ref.: Disj.: shíí dín = [I mean him]

Intro.: wàà dín = [whom?]

Rel.: wáñdǎ yá zóo dín = [the one who has come]

It is worth noting that any item ending in a diphthong -ai, not mentioned in (a) (e) above, has a different rule, in that the final -i is always dropped before the I.P.H.Q., and no apenthetic element occurs, e.g.,

+ Ref.: dǐllàalá→ñ = [the brokers]

+ Sh.Dem.: lǐttàttàfá→ñ cǎñ = [those books]

+ Sh.Pos.: fáifá→ñtǎ = [her covering mat]

+ Sh.Gen.: àlhàzá→ñ bǎná = [this year's pilgrims]

7.19

Generalisations

As a basis for making generalisations about the possible combinations of various types of Head with various types of Qualifier, it is convenient to tabulate all the possible combinations, as shown in Table 3. The combinations of Dynamic Noun are included in the Table for completeness, although the details are not discussed until Chapter 11.

TABLE 3

HEAD WITH ONE POST-HEAD QUALIFIER

[illegible][illegible]

TABLE 3

In the Table, all the items which can occur as Head are shown in the top margin, Non-Adverbial items on the left and Adverbial items on the right hand sides. All the items which can occur as Post-Head Qualifier are listed in the left-hand margin of the Table in two groups, the upper containing the Non-Adverbial and the lower the Adverbial Qualifiers. + at the intersection of any vertical column and horizontal line indicates that the two items involved can combine, while absence of + indicates that the two items involved cannot combine. The figures given on the right hand side and at the bottom of each section of the Table indicate the total number of possible combinations, the outside figure in each case representing the total number of combinations involving both Non-Adverbial and Adverbial items.

7.20

Qualifiers

In the light of this Table, Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can be grouped under four headings, on the basis of the number of different types of item in Head position with which they can combine, although the boundaries between the groups are admittedly somewhat arbitrary. Where two figures are given, the first refers to the Non-Adverbial, the second to Adverbial Heads:

(a) Readily combinable:

Ref.	29 + 6
Sh.Dem.	25 + 4

(b) Relatively high combinability:

Rel.(a)	22
(b)	21 + 2
Qt. 1	22

(c) Moderate combinability: (see next page)

(c) Moderate combinability:

Sh.Pos.	18 + 1	<u>Unt. Adj.</u> (b)	17
Sh.Gen.	15 + 1	(c)	
Adj.Cx. (b)	19	<u>Adj. Ph.</u> (a)	16
(a)	15	(b)	
(c)	13	(c)	13
		Gem. Adj.	14

(d) Low combinability:

Lg.Gen.	10	Indet.Q.	5
Qt. 2	9	Lg.Pos.	5
3	9	Ideo.	5
Unt. Adj. (a)	8		

Adverbial Qualifiers can similarly be grouped under three headings, as shown below; in this case only one set of figures is given, since, as is evident from the Table, Adverbial Qualifiers combine exclusively with Non-Adverbial Heads.

(a) Relatively low combinability:

<u>Simp. Unt.</u>	15	<u>Adv. Ph.</u> (a)	12
<u>Adv. Cx.</u> (d)	14	(b)	11
(e)	13		
(b)	12		
(a)	11		

(b) Low combinability:

Adv. Cpd.	6
Adv. Cl.	6

(c) Very low combinability:

<u>Simp. Adv. Deg.</u>	4
<u>Simp. Redp.</u>	1
Adv. Cx. (c)	1

From this it will be seen that the highest group of Adverbial Qualifiers barely overlaps with the third group of Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, while the lowest frequency in the case of Adverbial Qualifiers is extremely low.

7.21

Heads

Non-Adverbial Heads are difficult to group, since there is a gradual decline in the frequency of their combinations with Qualifiers. It is probably simplest to make a three way distinction as follows (where two figures are given, the first refers to the Non-Adverbial, the second to Adverbial Qualifiers).:

(a) High and Relative^{ly} High Combinability:

<u>Nouns:</u>	Non-Dyn.	21	+	4
	Dyn.	17	+	11
	Cpd.Nn.(various)	11	-	18 + 2 - 7
	Indef.Pr.	15	+	5
	<u>Unit.Adj.</u> (c)	17	+	7
	(a)			
	)	15	+	7
	(b)			
	Indef.Spec.	17	+	8
	Lg.Pos.	15	+	3
	Lg.Gen.	19	+	4
	Qt.1	16	+	5
	Rel.	14		

(b) Relatively low combinability:

Adj.Ph.	11 + 1	Adj.Cx.(a)	}	8
Cpd.Nn.(IA)	9 + 5	(b)		
(IC)	9 + 5	(c)		
<u>Pr.Disj.</u>	9 + 1	Lg.Dem.		6
Int.	6 + 2			

(c) Low combinability:

Ideo.: 2 + 1

Qt.2: 1 + 1

Is.: 2

3: 1

As indicated earlier in this chapter, possible combinations with Adverbial Heads are extremely limited (see 7.14). In fact, no such Head combines with more than four Non-Adverbial Qualifiers; and the combination of Adverbial Qualifiers with an Adverbial Head is quite impossible.

CHAPTER 8

CO-OCCURRENCE OF TWO POST-HEAD QUALIFIERS

When considering the co-occurrence of two post-Head Qualifiers, it is convenient to discuss, first, the co-occurrence of two Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, then the co-occurrence of an Adverbial with a Non-Adverbial Qualifier, and finally, the co-occurrence of two Adverbial Qualifiers.

8.1 Co-occurrence of two Non-Adverbial Qualifiers

It can be stated, as a general rule, that where a given Head can be combined with a number of different qualifiers, any two of these qualifiers can co-occur in combination with such a Head. For instance, where a given Head (e.g. a Non-Dynamic Noun) can be followed by a Short Possessive, and the same Head can also be followed by a Unitary Adjective, combination of these two post-Head Qualifiers with the same Head is also possible.
e.g.,

tàttàbàrú- <u>ńsà</u> <u>máhàddàtáa</u>	=	[his nice-cooing pigeons]
tàttàbàrú- <u>ńsà</u> <u>dàuràrrúu</u>	=	[his wing-tied pigeons]
tàttàbàrú- <u>ńsà</u> <u>fàràarée</u>	=	[his white pigeons]

The following exemplify other combinations:-

Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Adj.Cx.: ríigúnà→h Audù mààsú zàànéé
[Audu's embroidered gowns]

Hd. + Gem.Adj. + Rel.: áláwáyýò túrmíí túrmíí dà kúkà gáníí
[the white calico in bales which you saw]

Hd. + Qt.1 + Lg.Gen.: ríigúnàa gùdàa úkù ná sílíkíi
[three silk gowns]

Hd. + Sh.Dem. + Ideo.: bùhú→h nàh sùkùtúm
[this entire sack]

Hd. + Qt.2 + Lg.Pos.: (wádánsú 'yán) sháanúu kàdán náamù
[a few cattle of ours]

Hd. + Sh.Pos. + Lg.Gen.:⁽¹⁾ sháanú→nsà ná nóomáa
[his ploughing oxen]

But there are certain restrictions, viz.,

(i) With the exception of Unt.Adj. and Lg.Gen. no two qualifiers of the same type can co-occur in qualification of the same Head. Thus, for instance:-

(a) two Adjectival Complexes or two Relative Clauses of the same or of different sub-types do not co-occur,

(1) Where a Possessive and a Genitival Complex, or two Genitival Complexes, co-occur in qualification of the same Head, their relative order seems to be determined by considerations of emphasis, the item further from the Head being more emphatic. This is shown in the following examples, where the underlined word in the gloss is emphasised:-

- (a) Hd.+Sh.Pos.+Lg.Gen.: sháanú→nsà ná nóomáa = [his ploughing oxen]
 (b) Hd.+Sh.Gen.+Lg.Gen.: sháanú→h nóomáa náasà = [his ploughing "oxen"]
 (c) Hd.+Sh.Gen.+Lg.Gen.: sháanú→h nóomáa ná Audù = [Audu's ploughing oxen]
 (d) Hd.+Sh.Gen.+Lg.Gen.: sháanú→h Audù ná nóomáa = [Audu's ploughing oxen]

e.g.:

Same type and sub-type

1. Rel. + Rel.:

*bàakíi wádàndà súkà zóo wádàndà súkà fítá

*bàakíi dà súkà zóo dà súkà fítá

2. Adj.Cx. + Adj.Cx.:

*bàakíi màasú jáakúnàa màasú dáwáakíi

*bàakíi màasú áikíi màasú màgánàa

Same type but different sub-types

3. Rel. + Rel.:

*bàakíi wádàndà súkà zóo dà súkà fítá

4. Adj.Cx. + Adj.Cx.:

*bàakíi màasú jáakúnàa màasú màgánàa

- (b) The same rule applies to the combination of two Possessives of any kind and of two Quantifiers of the same or of different sub-types, since these are semantically incompatible.

In the case of Unit.Adj. and Lg.Gen., however, the position is as follows:

- (a) Several Adjectives of the same or of different sub-types can co-occur after the same Head. e.g.:

(1) Same sub-types:

Hd.+Agt.Adj.+Agt.Adj.:

léebúr⁶eríi málàalàatáa máràinàtáa

[lazy discontented labourers]

Hd.+Ptpl.Adj.+Ptpl.Adj.:

rīgáa hàdádíyáa wánkákíyáa

[a well-made, clean gown]

(2) Different sub-types:

Hd.+Ptpl.Adj.+Agt.Adj.: dáwáakíi hòoràrrúu mánàgàrtáa
[well-trained reliable horses]

Hd.+Simp.Adj.+Ptpl.Adj.: ráwàníi tsóohóo wànkákkée
[an old, clean turban]

Hd.+Agt.Adj.+Simp.Adj.: tàttàbàrrúu mähàddàtáa fàràarée
[nice-cooing, white pigeons]

(b) Two Long Genitival Complexes, or a Short and Long Genitival Complex, can co-occur in qualification of the same Head, e.g.,

(1) Two Long Genitival Complexes:

(wátá) rīgáa tá sīlīkīi tá Audù
[a silk gown of Audu's]

(wádánsú) sháanúu ná nóomáa ná sárkīi
[some ploughing oxen of the emir's]

(2) Sh.Gen. with Lg.Gen.:

rīgá→f Audù tá sīlīkīi
[Audu's silk gown]

sáanīyá→f tàatsáa tá sárkīi
[the emir's milch cow]

(ii) (a) Short Demonstrative,⁽¹⁾ Short Possessive and Short Genitival Complex, all being Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers, are mutually exclusive, since each of them occurs only immediately after the Head.

(b) They are mutually exclusive with the Referential⁽¹⁾.

(1) The Referential is often assimilated to the following consonant, e.g., rīgát táakà = [your gown]. This applies also to the Link Element in the remaining I.P.H.Q.'s e.g., Sh.Dem.: rīgá→é càh = [that gown]; Sh.Pos.: rīgá→ssà = [his gown]; and Sh.Gen.: rīgá→b Báláa = [Bala's gown].

- (iii) All reduplicated forms are mutually exclusive. The Geminate Adjective, for example, does not co-occur with Quantifier 3, both being reduplicated forms.

e.g., *littāafli irīi-irīi úkū-úkū

*zaūwāatli túrmīi-túrmīi góomà-góomà

- (iv) Quantifier 3 does not co-occur with the Referential.

- (v) Ideophone does not co-occur with:-

- (a) any of the Quantifiers
- (b) Indeterminate Qualifier
- (c) any of the sub-types of Unitary Adjectives
- (d) Adjectival Phrase (a), which contains Ideophone.

8.1.1

The co-occurrence of two Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can be tabulated as shown in the following Table, where * indicates co-occurrence and a blank space indicates non co-occurrence. The sequential order of co-occurrence is not taken into account in this Table, which is concerned only with the co-occurrence of the Qualifiers shown on the left hand margin with the Qualifiers shown at the top of the Table.

From this, it can be seen that the possibilities of co-occurrence of two Non-Adverbial Qualifiers are considerable, the relatively few blank spaces corresponding to the restrictions just described.

8.2. Co-occurrence of an Adverbial with a Non-AdverbialQualifier

Adverbial Qualifiers, in general, co-occur more freely with each other than they do with the Non-Adverbial Qualifiers. The relatively few cases where an Adverbial form can co-occur with a Non-Adverbial Qualifier are all shown in Table 5, where + indicates co-occurrence, and a blank space indicates non co-occurrence. The possible co-occurrences can be summarised under the following three headings:-

- A. Simple Adverb co-occurs only rarely with Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, Unitary^T and St., and Reduplicated^{L, T and St.}, not at all.

The possible co-occurrences can be listed briefly as follows:-

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|--------------|---------|
| (i) | Unitary ^{L(b)} | with Sh.Gen. | |
| (ii) | Unitary ^M | with Ref. | |
| (iii) | Reduplicated ^M | with Ref. | Adj.Ph. |
| | | Sh.Gen. | Rel. |
| | | Unit.Adj. | |

Examples:

→ n kòòqín

- (i) (mù bí tá nán) gééfè-gééfè-hákà táá cíkà sányíí
 [(let us go this way) beside the river is too cold]
- (ii) dányé-n hákà zaa kà fya cíí?
 [are you going to eat it raw like?]
- (iii) kòòré-n hákà-hákà dúk sún búushèe
 [the calabashes about this size (gesture) are all dry]
 táa sàyí fàyàa-fàyé-n níkàa hákà-hákà
 [she has bought grinding mats about this size (gesture)]
 (wádánsú) gwándóojíí hákà-hákà dà sùkà fáadòò jíya
 [some pawpaws about this size (gesture) which dropped down yesterday]

As can be seen, the only possible generalisation seems to be that Modal Category of both sub-types of Simple Adverb can occur with the Referential, otherwise one must be content with specific statements.

- B. Adverbial Compound: only the Locative Category form can co-occur with the following:-

Indet.Q.: mǎátǎá kǎzáá cíkínsù báà sú dá fǎsfóò

[such and such a number of women among them
have no passport]

Ideo.:

dúwǎàtsúú rátátá kǎn hányàr súú súkà hánàà shí ^{sáuríí}

[the mass of stones on the road prevented his
going faster]

Rel.:

dàttííjái cíkínsù dà ká gáníí jiyà sún kóómóó

[the elders among them whom you saw yesterday
have returned]

Adverbial Compounds of other categories do not co-occur with Non-Adverbial Qualifiers.

- C. Adverbial Complex, Phrase and Cluster, can conveniently be considered together; but only the following categories need to be considered, since forms of the remaining categories do not co-occur with Non-Adverbial Qualifiers.

Complex (a)^L; (b)^L; (d)^{Soc.}; and (e)^{Eq.}

Phrases ^L and (a)^{at}; and (b)^L

Cluster^L and St.

Only the first five of these co-occur with any appreciable number of Qualifiers. The position may be summarised as follows:-

- (i) All of these five, with the exceptions shown, can co-occur with each of the following:

Sh.Pos and Lg.Pos. (not Cx.(a))
Sh.Gen and Lg.Gen. (not Cx.(a))
Qt.1 and 2 (not Cx.(a), and:
Cx.(e) not with Qt.2)

- (ii) Furthermore, Complex and Phrase (a) can co-occur with:-

Sh.Dem.	(not Cx.(a))
Ideo.	(not Cx.(b))
Unit.Adj. }	
Adj.Ph. }	(not Cx.(e))
Rel.	(not Cx.(a) or (d))

- (iii) In addition, the following individual co-occurrences are possible:-

Cx.(b)
)
 Cx.(d) with Indet.Q.
)
 Cl.^L
 Cx(a))
)
 Cx.(b)) with Gem.Adj.
)
 Cx.(d))
 Cx.(a) with Adj.Cx.
 Phr. (a)st with Qt.3.

The following are some random examples:-

- (i) Hd.+Sh.Pos.+Cx.(b): bààkí-nmù dàgá lkkó sún sháá wàhálàà
[our guests from Lagos have had a hard
time]

Contd.

- (i) Hd.+Lg.Pos.+Cx.(e): wátá láimàà tààwá yà wánnàh tǎá báta
[an umbrella of mine, just like this
one, has got lost]
- Hd.+Sh.Gen.+Ph.(a)st: àlábè+h Áudù cǐké dà kúdíí yáá fáádàà
rííjǐyáá
[Audu's wallet full of money has fallen
into the well]
- Hd.+Lg.Gen.+Cl^L: yáá sàyí wátá góónáá tá Áudù nán kóófàr
gàríí.
[He has bought a farm of Audu's just out-
side the city]
- Hd.+Qt.1+Cx.(d): fátààkéé mùtúm bǐyár dà jáákúnànsù sún zóo
[five itinerant traders with (their) donkeys
have come]
- (ii) Hd.+Ideo.+Cx.(a): dúwààtsúú rátátá à kǎn hányàr súú súkà ...
[the mass of stones on the road]
- Hd.+Adj.+Ph.^L: gòònàkíí mǎnyáá nééèa dà gàríí wùýár shá'à-
níí gǎréésù
[large farms far from the town are hard to
deal with]
- Hd.+Adj.Ph.+Ph.st: yààráá kánáánàà dǎuké dà sándúnàà sún wúcèè
[small children carrying sticks have dàanzú
just gone by]
- Hd.+Cx.(é)+Rel.: fǎrǎàréé ì wádànnàh wádàndà zǎh áikòò mǎà
sún ìshéé kà
[white ones like these which I am sending
to you are sufficient for you]
- (iii) Hd.+Indet.+Cl^L: Wáànè kàzǎá nǎh kúsá dà múú yáá íyàà
[What's his name here near us is good at
making it]

Hd.+Gem.Adj.+Cx.(d): fátàakée dákli-dákli dà káayán góorò sún zóo
 [itinerant traders in groups with loads of
 kolas have come]

Hd.+Cx.(e)+Adj.Cx.: wání kwáandò í wánnàn màì lánbàa yáa bátà
 [a bowl like this one (but) chipped
 has got lost]

Hd.+Qt.3+Ph.st: búhúnàa úkù-úkù ciké dà shínkáafáa sún.....
 [three sacks each, full of rice are.....]

8.3 Co-occurrence of two Adverbial Qualifiers

In general, any Adverbial Qualifier can co-occur with any other type of Adverbial Qualifier. There are, however, certain general restrictions, and a few specific restrictions, as described below:

General Restrictions:

- (a) No two Adverbial Qualifiers of the same category⁽¹⁾ can co-occur in qualification of the same Head.
For instance, the co-occurrence of two Locative or two Temporal Qualifiers is not possible.
- (b) In the case of most Adverbial Qualifiers, no two Qualifiers of the same type can co-occur (whether of the same or of different categories), much less of the same sub-type. However,

(1) Except that it seems possible to have co-occurrence of two Stative Adverbial qualifiers, at least one of which is extended (they may even be of the same extended type). In this respect they resemble Adjectives rather than Adverbs.

e.g: (i) wátá màcè zàuné à kùjèeráa lùllùbé dà kái
[a certain woman sitting on a chair with her face covered]

(ii) wádánsú máhàrbáa ràatàyé dà wàrkíi d'auké dà sándúnàa
[certain hunters dressed in skins and carrying clubs]

co-occurrence of two Adverbial Complexes is possible, as shown in the following examples, but Adverbial Complexes of the same sub-type cannot co-occur.:

- (i) Adv.Cx.(e)^{Eq} with Adv.Cx.(d)^{Soc.}:

mùtùm ì kái dà kùrùuciýársà

[a man of your age full of youth]

- (ii) Adv.Cx.(b)^{Loc} with Adv.Cx.(d)^{Soc.}:

mùtànée dàgà Léegòs dà káayán góorò

[some people from Lagos with a load of kolas]

- (iii) Adv.Cx.(e)^{Eq} with Adv.Cx.(a)^L:

káatò yà wánnàh à gídán Audù

[a big (person) like this one in Audu's house]

Specific Restrictions:

- (a) Spl.Adv.Deg. and Adv.Cx.(c) do not co-occur with any other Adverbial Qualifier

- (b) Adv.Cl. does not co-occur with Adv.Cpd.

(There are some cases of apparent co-occurrence which have already been treated as Adverbial Clusters (see Chapter 3, 3.4). They are indicated by a C in Table 6, following, but they are ignored in the generalised statement here).

Apart from the restrictions mentioned above, there are cases of obligatory co-occurrence, viz.:

Adv.Cpd., Adv.Cl., and Adv.Ph. do not combine with non-Dynamic Noun Head except with the co-occurrence of a Specifier in Pre-Head position (see Chapters 7. 7.1, and 10 10.2). This rule also applies to the co-occurrence of these Qualifiers with other Adverbial Qualifiers, e.g.,

1. Adv.Cl. with Simp.Unit.:

wání mùtúm zàuné nán kúsá dà múu
[a man sitting just here near us]

But not: *mùtúm zàuné nán kúsá dà múu

2. Adv.Cpd. with Simp.Unit.:

wání mùtúm cán kán-dóokíi
[a man yonder on a horse]

But not: *mùtúm cán kán-dóokíi

3. Adv.Cl. with Adv.Ph.:

wání mùtúm kúsá dà múu sàayé dà rīigár sīlīkīi
[a man near us wearing a silk gown]

But not: *mùtúm kúsá dà múu sàayé dà rīigár sīlīkīi

Within the limits described above, the possibilities of co-occurrence are so numerous that it is unnecessary to set them out in detail. It is sufficient to give a few examples first, and then to tabulate all the possibilities as shown in Table 6, following:

(a) Simp.Adv.^M with Adv.Cpd.^L: e.g.,

wànnée hákà cíkí-ńsù
[which of them with that name]

(b) Simp.Adv.^M with Adv.Cx.(a)^L: e.g.,

wádánsú gwándóojíi hákà-hákà à ràafín Audù
[some pawpaws this sort of size, in Audu's garden]

(c) Adv.Cx.(a)^L with Adv.Ph.(a)St: e.g.,

wádánsú fátàakée à cíkín dáajíi kòoré dà jáakúnàa
[some itinerant traders (travelling) in the bush driving their donkeys]

(d) Adv.Cl.^L with Adv.Ph.(a)St: e.g.,

wání sáuràyíi nán kúsá dà kúu sàayé dà rīgār silíkíi
[à young man just there near you wearing a silken gown]

(e) Adv.Cx.(e)^{Eq} with Adv.Cl.^L: e.g.,

wání gídáa yà wánnàh cán bàakín kàasúwáa
[à house like this one, there, close to the market]

(f) Adv.Cx.(e)^{Eq} with Adv.Ph.(b)^L: e.g.,

wátá bishíyàa ì wánnàh à dáamá dà gídánmù
[à tree like this one, to the right of our house]

TABLE 6

Co-occurrence of two Adverbial Qualifiers

<u>QUALIFIERS</u>	<u>SIMPLE Adv.</u>		<u>Adv.</u>	<u>ADVERBIAL CX.</u>					<u>Adv.</u>	<u>Adv.Ph.</u>		
	Unt.	Redp.	Deg.	Cpd.	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	Cl.	(a)	(b)
<u>Simp. Unit.</u>	C	C		+	C	C		C		++	C	C
Redp.	C				+	+						
Deg.												
<u>Adv.Cpd.</u>	+				+	+		+			+	+
<u>Adv.Cx. (a)</u>	C	+		+		+		+	+	+	+	
(b)	C	+		+	+			+		+	+	
(c)												
(d)	C			+	+	+			+	+		
(e)					+	+		+		+	+	+
<u>Adv.Cl.</u>	+				+			+	+		+	+
<u>Adv. Ph. (a)</u>	C			+	+	+			+	+		
(b)	C			+					+	+		

8.4

Summary

It has been shown that Non-Adverbial Qualifiers readily co-occur with other Non-Adverbial Qualifiers; and Adverbial Qualifiers co-occur with other Adverbial Qualifiers though with some important qualifications; but the co-occurrence of an Adverbial with a Non-Adverbial is relatively rare.

CHAPTER 9

CO-OCCURRENCE OF MORE THAN TWO POST-HEAD QUALIFIERSAND THEIR RELATIVE ORDER

In general, where a given Head can be combined with a number of different Post-Head Qualifiers, accumulation of more than two such Qualifiers is also possible, subject to the restrictions described in Chapter 8 (8.1, 8.2, 8.3). It is, however, unusual to find as many as five such Qualifiers co-occurring in qualifications of a single Head; so, the maximum number of Post-Head Qualifiers in any one NP is normally four.

The most common Simple NP's contain only one or two Qualifiers, but it is also possible to find an NP containing the maximum of four Post-Head Qualifiers, which can be:

- either (i) all Non-Adverbial or all Adverbial Qualifiers,
- or (ii) a combination of Adverbial and Non-Adverbial Qualifiers.

As in the case of the co-occurrence of two Post-Head Qualifiers, it is convenient to discuss, first, the cases where all the qualifiers are Non-Adverbial, then the cases where all the Qualifiers are Adverbial, and finally the co-occurrence of some Adverbial with some Non-Adverbial Qualifiers. At the end of each section, consideration is given to the sequential order of the various types of Qualifier involved.

9.1. Co-occurrence of More than Two Non-Adverbial Qualifiers

The Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can conveniently be arranged in seven groups, which are significant from the point of view both of co-occurrence and of sequential order, viz.,

Group A comprises: Ref. Sh.Pos.
 Sh.Dem. Sh.Gen.

Group B comprises: Qt. 1, 2, 3
 Indet.Q.

Group C comprises: Lg.Pos.
 Lg.Gen.

Group D comprises: Gem.Adj.
 Unit.Adj.
 Ideo.

Group E comprises: Adj.Ph. (a), (b), (c)

Group F comprises: Adj.Cx. (a), (b), (c)

Group G comprises: Rel. (a), (b)

The members of each group are mutually exclusive, except:

- (i) Lg.Pos. in Group C can co-occur with Lg.Gen.
- (ii) Unit.Adj. in Group D can co-occur with Gem.Adj.

Subject to this restriction and to the restrictions mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, any Qualifier from any one of these groups can co-occur with any one, any two, or any three Qualifiers to the maximum of four in all in a single NP. This means that, with the exceptions (i) and (ii) mentioned above, the Qualifiers will all belong to different groups, although there may also be some further restrictions due to semantic incompatibility, e.g.,

(a) Hd. + Sh.Dem. + Qt.1 + Lg.Gen.:

rfigúnà-n nán gúdáa bíyú ná sllíkii
[those two silkne gowns]

(b) Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Lg.Gen. + Adj.Ph. + Rel.:

sháanú→ń Audù ná tàatsáa kòosàssúu áinùn dà sùkà bátà
 [Audu's very well-fed milch cows which are missing]

(c) Hd. + Ref. + Lg.Pos. + Unit.Adj. + Adj.Cx.:

littàttàfá→ń náakà sàabàbbfi màasú àmfàanfi
 [the useful new books of yours]

9.1.1.

The sequential order of co-occurrence of these Qualifiers depends on the group to which the particular Qualifiers belong, the relative order being A + B + C + D + E + F + G⁽¹⁾ Any Qualifier from group A, for instance, precedes Qualifier of any other group in any sequence of two, three or more Qualifiers, (in the case of Sh.Dem., Sh.Pos., and Sh. Gen, this is self-evident, since they are all I.P.H.Q. inseparably linked to the Head by the link element -n/-r/-n): again, any Qualifier from group B precedes any from groups C-G, but follow those of group A; and so on.

As regards the items in group C and group D which can co-occur, in C Lg.Pos. can either precede or follow Lg.Gen., but in D Unit.Adj. can only follow any Gen.Adj. with which it co-occurs. The sequential order can be represented as follows:

(1) The order given here seems to be an adequate generalisation, covering the vast majority of possible combinations, though it may be found that occasional less-favourite variations from this pattern could be found.

$$\begin{array}{ccccc}
 \text{A} & & \text{B} & & \text{C} \\
 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ref.} \\ \text{Sh.Dem} \\ \text{Sh.Pos.} \\ \text{Sh.Gen.} \end{array} \right\} & + & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Qt. 1, 2, 3} \\ \text{Indet} \end{array} \right\} & + & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Lg.Pos.} + (\text{Lg.Gen.}) \\ \text{Lg.Gen.} + (\text{Lg.Pos.}) \end{array} \right\} \\
 & & & & \\
 \text{D} & & \text{E} & & \text{F} & & \text{G} \\
 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ideo.} \\ \text{Gem.Adj.} + (\text{Unit.Adj.}) \\ \text{Unit.Adj.} \end{array} \right\} & + & \text{Adj.Ph.} & + & \text{Adj.Cx.} & + & \text{Rel.}
 \end{array}$$

The following examples illustrate the way in which these rules operate:

- (1) Hd. + Ref. + Lg.Pos + Lg.Gen.:

lítáafli→h náakà ná sáyárwáa

[the books of yours for sale]

But not: *littáafli náakà→h ná sáyárwáa

- (2) Hd. + Sh.Dem. + Indet.Q. + Lg.Pos. + Rel.:

littàttàfá→h nán kàzáa náakà dà zaa kà sáyár (nákèe sòn ^{gánfi})
 [(I want to see) those books of yours - how many was
 it that you are selling?]

But not: *littàttàfá→h nán dà zaa kà sáyár kàzáa náakà

- (3) Hd. + Sh.Pos. + Lg.Gen. + Unit.Adj. + Adj.Cx.:

rìigá→fsà tá kàrán-mískii sáabúwáa mài áskáa

[his new embroidered gown of velvet]

But not: *rìigá→fsà mài áskáa sáabúwáa tá kàrán-mískii

- (4) Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Ideo. + Adj.Ph. + Adj.Cx.:

cínyà→r sáa sùkùtúm káatùwáa kwárái mài máikòo

[a whole enormous fat leg of beef]

But not: *cínyà→r sáa mài máikòo sùkùtúm káatùwáa kwárái

(5) Hd. + Qt.2 + Gem.Adj. + Unit.Adj. + Rel.:

átámfóofii dà yáwàa írli-írli kyáawàawáa dà yá zóo dà súu
 [many beautiful lengths of dress material with different
 designs which he brought back with him]

But not: *átámfóofii írli-írli dà yáwàa dà yá zóo dà súu kyáawàawáa

(6) Hd. + Unit.Adj. + Adj.Ph. + Adj.Cx. + Rel.:

rliigáa fáráa kyàkkyáawár gàské màì áikli dà zál áikàa gidáa
 [a very good embroidered white gown which he is sending home]

But not: *rliigáa màì áikli dà zál áikàa gidáa kyàkkyáawár gàské fáráa

(7) Hd. + Sh.Dem. + Qt.3 + Lg.Gen. + Rel.:

sháanú→h nán bíyú-bíyú ná nóomáa dà súkà sàssàyáa bàará
 [those pairs of ploughing oxen which they each bought last year]

But not: *sháanú→h nán dà súkà sàssàyáa bàará ná nóomáa bíyú-bíyú

(8) Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Lg.Gen. + Lg.Pos. + Adj.Ph.:

wání dóokl→h súkùwáa ná sáyàrwáa náasà mánàgàrcíi áinùn
 [a very good race-horse of his (which is) for sale]

But not: *wání dóokl→h súkùwáa mánàgàrcíi áinùn náasà ná sáyàrwáa

(9) Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Unit.Adj. + Unit.Adj. + Unit.Adj.:

wání mákèerí→h ázùrfáa gájéerée kàkkáuráa fáríi
 [a short, stocky, light-complexioned silversmith]

But not: *wání mákèeríi gájéerée kàkkáuráa fáríi -n(á) ázùrfáa

9.2 Co-occurrence of more than two Adverbial Qualifiers

In discussing the co-occurrence of more than two Adverbial Qualifiers, only the following six Heads need to be considered, since with all other types of Head there are only one or two Adverbial Qualifiers capable of qualifying the Head. (See Table 3 in Chapter 7.)

Non-Dyn.	Indef.Spec.
Cpd.Nn.	Lg.Pos.
Indef.Pr.	Unit.Adj.

The co-occurrence of more than two Adverbial Qualifiers after any of these Heads is possible, subject to the restrictions described in Chapter 8 (8.3). All the examples of Simple Adverb given in this section are of Modal category, since with almost all the relevant types of Head considered here it is the only Simp.Adv. that can occur.

Examples of NP's containing more than two Adverbial Qualifiers are the following:

(a) Hd. + Simp.Adv.^M + Adv.Cx. + Adv.Cl. + Adv.Ph.:

(i) Non-Dyn. Head:

wátá màcè hàkà dàgà Kándò nán kúsá dà múu
dàuké dà láimàa

[a woman of that description from Kano just here
 near us carrying an umbrella]

(ii) The same Adverbial Qualifiers can follow such Heads

as Unit.Adj., e.g.: wání gājéerée = [a certain short one]
 or Indef.Spec., e.g.; wání = [a certain (person)]

(b) Hd. + Simp. Adv. + Adv. Cpd. + Adv. Cx. + Adv. Ph.:

(i) Non-Dyn. Head:

wání gídáa hákà kán-hányàa dàgà gábàs yàabé dà sìmintĩi
[a house of that description on the eastern side of the
road plastered with cement]

(ii) Cpd. Nn. Head:

wání tùmáa-kàsà hákà kán-shĩnfídàa dàgà wájén káfà
ciké dà áudùgár-rĩimĩi
[a cushion answering that description at the foot
end of the bedding filled with Kapok]

The Indef. Pr. and the Lg. Pos. can be followed only
by three Adverbial Qualifiers each, as follows:

Indef. Pr. + Adv. Cx. ^(b) + Adv. Cl. + Adv. Ph. : e.g.

wànnée dàgà cikin sù càn hákà ràatáyé à kúusàa?
.....[which of them over there hanging on the wall....?]

LgPos. + Simp. Adv. ^M + Adv. Cx. (e) + Adv. Ph. (b) : e.g.:

nàawá hákà ì wánnàh dàgà dáamá dà níi
[mine just like this one, to my right]

9.2.1 Like the Non-Adverbial, Adverbial Qualifiers can
be assigned letters by which their sequential order can
conveniently be described. viz:

V : Simp. Adv.	Y : Adv. Cl.
W : Adv. Cpd.	Z : Adv. Ph.
X : Adv. Cx.	

The relative order of their co-occurrence is :⁽²⁾

V + W + X + Y + Z

Thus, wherever any two, three, or four Adverbial Qualifiers co-occur, V precedes all others, X precedes Y and Z but follows either of the other two, and so on.

This sequential order may be illustrated by the following further examples of sequences of Adverbial Qualifiers.:

Hd. + Simp. Adv. + Adv. Cx. + Adv. Cl. + Adv. Ph. :

1. wádánsú ákwáatúnàa hákà-hákà à d'áakín Audù cǎn kàrkáshín gádóo
kùllé fám dà kwáadúnàa

[some suit-cases of this sort of size (gesture) in Audu's room
right under the bed, securely padlocked]

But not: *wádánsú ákwáatúnàa kùllé fám dà kwáadúnàa hákà-hákà
cǎn kàrkáshín gádóo à d'áakín Audù.

2. wádánsú nùunànnúu hákà-hákà à ràafín Báláa cǎn cíkín rùmbúu
kùnshé cíkín àlgàráaràa

[some ripe ones, this sort of size, in Bala's garden deep
in the granary wrapped in hessian]

But not: *wádánsú nùunànnúu cǎn cíkín rùmbúu à ràafín Báláa
kùnshé cíkín àlgàráaràa hákà-hákà

3. wátá bàakúwáa hákà dàgà Kúurá tàfé dà 'yán rákiyàrtà

[a stranger lady of that description from Kura travelling
with an escort]

But not: wátá bàakúwáa tàfé dà 'yán rákiyàrtà dàgà Kúurá hákà

(2) Subject to the same qualification as in Chp.9 (9.1.1) Fn.(1)

Since the Adverbial Compound is mutually exclusive with Adverbial Cluster, as mentioned in 8.3, the sequential order of co-occurrence is:

Simp.Adv. Adv.Cpd.^x Adv.Cx. Adv.Cl.^x Adv.Ph.

where ^x indicates that the two items so marked are mutually exclusive.

9.3 Co-occurrence of Adverbial with Non-Adverbial qualifiers

In this section, it is convenient to consider, first, the co-occurrence of one Adverbial qualifier with more than one Non-Adverbial, then the co-occurrence of more than one Adverbial with one or two Non-Adverbial qualifiers, and finally, to consider the sequential order of their co-occurrence. Each Adverbial qualifier is considered separately.

9.3.1 Simple Adverb

In considering the co-occurrence of a Simple Adverb with Non-Adverbial qualifiers, only the following Categories need to be considered, since all the remaining categories co-occur only with one or two mutually exclusive Non-Adverbials. :-

Unitary Stative

Reduplicated Modal

(A) A Unitary Stative Adverb can co-occur with any one, any two, or all the three of the following Non-Adverbials:-

- (a) Unitary Adjective
- (b) Adjectival Phrase
- (c) Relative Clause

Examples:-

Hd. + (Unit.Adj.) + (Adj.Ph.) + Unit.Stat. + (Ref.):

- (i) ríígunàà fàrààréé kyááwààwán gàské rààtàyé à kúúsàà wádàndà
ká gáníi jíyà

[the very beautiful white gowns hanging on the wall which
 you saw yesterday]

- (ii) dàwàakái hòoràrrúu mágúdàa áinùn dàuré à tírkènsà
wádàndà zàa mù háu gòobé

[very fast, well-trained horses in his stable which we
 are going to ride tomorrow]

- (iii) wádánsú màalámái máhàddàtáa dàtíijái kwárái zàuné à kwár-gídaa
wádàndà zàa sù yí mäsà àddú'aa

[a number of reciter-malams, very respectable gentlemen,
 sitting by the gate, who are going to pray for him]

- (B) The Reduplicated Modal Adverb co-occurs with:

- (a) Referential
 (b) Short Genitival Complex
 and (c) Relative Clause.

Since the Referential and the Short Genitival Complex are mutually exclusive (see 9.1), only a sequence of not more than three qualifiers including the Reduplicated Model is possible. e.g.:

Hd. + ($\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ref.} \\ \text{Sh.Gen.} \end{array} \right\}$) + Redp.^M + (Rel.):-

(i) Ref.: gwándóojí→h hákà-hákà dà ká gáyàa míní (nákèe sòn gáníi)

[I want to see the pawpaws this sort of size which you told me about]

(ii) Sh.Gen.: gwándóojí→n dáajli hákà-hákà dà ká gáyàa míní.....

[the wild pawpaws as big as this which you told me about]

9.3.2

Adverbial Compound

An Adverbial Compound can co-occur with any of the following Non-Adverbials:-

- (a) Indeterminate Qualifier
- (b) Ideophone
- (c) Relative Clause

The Indeterminate Qualifier is mutually exclusive with the Ideophone (see i.1 (v)), thus, only a sequence of not more than three qualifiers including the Adv.Cpd. is possible. e.g.:

$$\text{Hd.} + \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{(Indet.)} \\ \text{(Ideo.)} \end{array} \right) + \text{Adv.Cpd.} + \text{(Rel.):}$$

(i) Indet.: máátáá kàzáá cikínsù dà ká cèè báà sú dà fàsíòb

[such and such a number of women whom you said had no passport]

(ii) Ideo.: dúwààtsúú rátátá kàn hányàà dà kùkà gáníí

[ever so many stones on the road that you saw ...]

9.3.3.

Adverbial Complex, Phrase and Cluster

These can be conveniently considered together, since each of them can co-occur with most of the Non-Adverbial

qualifiers, the details of which have already been given in Chapter 8 (8.2 C); and, to avoid repetition, these are not listed here.

The following general statement can be made:

Where an Adverbial Complex, Phrase, or Cluster can co-occur with a number of different Non-Adverbial qualifiers, a sequence of any three or four of these qualifiers (including the Adverbial Qualifiers) is also possible, subject to the restrictions described in Chapter 8 (8.1, 8.2, and 8.3), and, of course, subject to semantic compatibility.

Examples are the following:

Adverbial Complex:

1. Hd. + Indet.Q. + Adv.Cx.(b) + Unlt.Adj. + Adj.Ph.:

bàakíi kàzàa dàgà Káno màalámái màsànan gàské (sún....)

[such and such a number of strangers from Kano, very learned indeed, have]

2. Hd. + Sh.Pos. + Qt.1 + Adv.Cx.(d) :

fàtàaké ímù mùtùm bíyár dà jàakúnàa (sún kwáaná à rùmfàrkù)

[our five customers with their donkeys slept in your (market)-stall]

3. Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Qt.1 + Adv.Cx.(e) + Rel.:

wádánsú dáwáakí ín súkùwáa gùdàa úkù yà wádànnàn dà súkà sàyáa

[three race-horses like these which they bought]

Adverbial Phrase:

1. Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Lg.Gen. + Adj.Ph. + Adv.Ph.(a) :

àlábè→h Audù ná fáatàa sáabóo káw cìké dà kúdíi (yáa...)

[Audu's brand new leather wallet full of money is]

2. Hd. + Sh.Pos. + Qt.1 + Unt.Adj. + Adv.Ph.(a) :

jáakúnà→hsù gùdàa úkù kárfàafáa d'auké dà káayán ítàacée (sún...)

[their three strong donkeys carrying loads of firewood have.....]

3. Hd. + Ref. + Qt.1 + Lg.Gen. + Adv.Ph.(b) :

gòonàkí→h gùdàa bíyú ná Audù dàgà dáamá dà múu (sún....)

[the two farms of Audu's to our right are]

Adverbial Cluster:

1. Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Qt.1 + Lg.Gen. + Adv.Cl.^L :

gòonàkí→h Audù gùdàa bíyú ná álkámàa nàh kóofàr gàrífí (sún...)

[Audu's two wheat farms just outside the town there are ...]

2. Hd. + Qt.2 + Lg.Pos.+ Lg.Gen. + Adv.Cl.St :

wádánsú 'yán líttàttàfái kàdán nàawá ná hàràajíi

nán cìkín-àkwàatú (sún)

[a few tax-books of mine there in the box, are]

9.3.4 The co-occurrence of two and of more than two Adverbial qualifiers has been dealt with in chapter 8 and in 9.2 above respectively. In considering the co-occurrence of more than one Adverbial Qualifier with one or more Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, therefore, it is sufficient to make

the following general statement:

Where an Adverbial Qualifier can co-occur with another Adverbial Qualifier, and the same Qualifier can also co-occur with one or more Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, combinations of such Adverbial Qualifiers with the Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, normally to the maximum of four qualifiers in all, are also possible. A Simple Adverb, for instance, can co-occur both with Adverbial Complex and with Adverbial Cluster, and can also co-occur with a Relative Clause; combination of all four in qualification to the same Head, therefore, is also possible.

Within these limits, the possibility of co-occurrence are so numerous that it is unnecessary to set them out in detail. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the possibilities.:-

1. Hd. + Qt.1 + Unit.Adj. + Adv.Cx.(a)^L + Adv.Cl.^L :

wání àkwàatù gùdàá dáyá káatòò à dákín Audù cín cín sáakòò
[one large suitcase in Audu's room right in the far corner]

2. Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Adv.Cl.St + Adv.Ph.St + Rel.(a) :

kánwà-à Audù nán zàuné lùllùbé dà fúskàa dà ná gáyàa mākà
[Audu's sister sitting there veiling her face, whom I told you about]

3. Hd. + Simp.Adv.^M + Adj.Ph. + Adv.Cx.(a)^L + Rel.(a) :

gwándóojíi hákà-hákà nùunànnúu kwárái à ràafín Audù
wádàndà sùkà fáadóo jíyà

[very ripe pawpaws, this sort of size, in Audu's garden which fell yesterday]

9.3.5

Sequential order of co-occurrence

Where the Adverbial and Non-Adverbial qualifiers co-occur in a sequence of two or more, they follow the following sequential order:

- (a) Any Adverbial Qualifier follows any Non-Adverbial Qualifier of groups A, B, or C with which it co-occurs; but precedes a Rel. if any.
- (b) The Simp.Adv. precedes both Unit.Adj. and Adj.Ph. or Adj.Cx.; it is mutually exclusive with both Ideo. and Gem.Adj.
- (c) All other Adverbial Qualifiers follow Adj.Ph.; they are also mutually exclusive with Adj.Cx.
- (d) The restrictions between the Adverbial Qualifiers themselves, and between the Non-Adverbial Qualifiers themselves, which were discussed in 9.1 and 9.2 above, also apply in accumulations of Adverbial and Non-Adverbial Qualifiers.

The sequential order of co-occurrence of Adverbial and Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, therefore, may be represented as follows:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 \text{A} & & \text{B} & & \text{C} & & \text{D} \\
 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ref.} \\ \text{Sh.Dem.} \\ \text{Sh.Pas.} \\ \text{Sh.Gen.} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Qt. 1,2,3} \\ \text{Indet.Q.} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Lg.Pos.+(Lg.Gen.)} \\ \text{Lg.Gen.+(Lg.Pos.)} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ideo.} \\ \text{Gem.Adj.} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{Simp.Adv.} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Unit.Adj.}) \\
 \text{E} & & \text{W} & & \text{X} & & \text{Y} & & \text{Z} & & \text{G} \\
 + \text{Adj.Ph.} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{Adv.Cpd.}) + \text{Adv.Cx.} + (\text{Adv.Cl.}) + \text{Adv.Ph.} \\ \text{F} \\ \text{Adj.Cx.} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Rel.}
 \end{array}$$

The following examples illustrate the way in which these rules operate:

1. Hd. + Sh.Pos. + Gem.Adj. + Adj.Ph. + Adv.Cpd.:

zànnúwàa-ntà írìi-írìi sàabàbbíi fíl cíkín-àkwàatù
[her various brand new wraps in a suit-case]

But not: *zànnúwàa-ntà cíkín àkwàatù sàabàbbíi fíl írìi-írìi

2. Hd. + Simp.Adv. + Adj.Ph. + Adv.Cl. + Rel.:

wádánsú gwándóojíi hákà-hákà nùunànnúu lúgúb kùnshe cíkín
kwándóo dà múkà gáníi

[some dead ripe pawpaws, this sort of size, wrapped up in
a basket that we saw]

But not: *wádánsú gwándóojíi kùnshe cíkín kwándóo hákà-hákà
dà múkà gáníi nùunànnúu lúgúb

3. Hd. + Ideo. + Adv.Cpd. + Adv.Ph. + Rel.:

mútàané jìngím kán-dáwáakíi rírriike dà máasúu dà sùkà wúcèe
[crowds of people on horseback carrying spears who went by]

But not: *mútàané kán-dáwáakíi jìngím rírriké dà máasúu dà
sùkà....]

4. Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Qt.1 + Adv.Cl. + Adv.Ph.

gídàajé-ín Bàlálá gùdàa góoma nán jèjjèere kùrkúsá dà kúu
[ten houses belonging to Bala all in a row, just there near
you]

But not: *gídàajée nán jèjjèeree -n(á) Bàlálá gùdàa góomà
kúsá dà kúu

5. Hd. + Adv.Cx. + Adv.Cl. + Adv.Ph. + Rel. :

wádánsú Áuzúnáawáa dà ráakúmàa nán kóofàr gàríi tàfé dà káayán kánwáa dà súkèe sòn shígóòwáa

[some Asben people with camels here at the gate of the town bringing loads of potash wanting to enter]

6. Hd. + Indet. +Simp.Adv. + Adv.Cpd. + Adv.Cx. :

bàakíi kàzáa hákà cíkín-móotàa dà càrbúnànšù à hánnú

[strangers such and such a number answering that description in a car with their rosaries in their hands]

But not: *bàakíi cíkín móotàa hákà dà càrbúnàa à hánnú kàzáa

7. Hd. + Qt.2 +Simp.Adv. + Adj.Cx. + Rel.:

gídàajée dà yǎwàa cǎn màasú kyáù áinùn dà zǎa à sáyár

[many very good houses there for sale]

But not: *gídàajée màasú kyáù áinùn cǎn dà yǎwàa dà zǎa à sáyár

8. Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Adv.Cx. + Adv.Cx. + Rel.:

góoná→í Audù ì wánnàn à Kándò dà yá sàyáa bàará

[Audu's farm like this one in Kano which he bought last year]

But not: *góonáa ì wánnàn →í(tá) Audù à Kándò dà yá sàyáa bàará

9. Hd. + Ref. + Lg.Gen. + Unit.Adj. + Adv.Ph. :

rùmǎ→ì tá Audù sáabúwáa kúrkúsá dà táamù

[the new shed of Audu's very close to ours]

But not: *rùmǎ→ì kúrkúsá dà táamù sáabúwáa tá Audù

10. Hd. + Lg.Pos. + Lg.Gen. + Adj.Ph. + Adv.Cl.:

wání dǒókǐi náasà ná súkúwáa kyàkkyáawáa áinùn nán dàuré
à tǐrkèe

[a magnificent race horse of his there, tethered to a post]

But not: *-- nán dàuré à tǐrkèe náasà ná súkúwáa kyàkkyáawáa
áinùn

9.4

Summary

As a general conclusion of this Chapter, it may be said that:

- (i) Where there is an accumulation of post-Head Qualifiers, the maximum number of these qualifiers in any given Simple Nominal Phrase is four, and they can be all Adverbial, or all Non-Adverbial, or a mixture of the two.
- (ii) In spite of the great variety of potential co-occurrences of post-Head qualifiers, it is possible to observe a consistent pattern of sequential order in which they normally co-occur, and this applies whether there are two, three or four qualifiers in succession.
- (iii) There is a specific position for each qualifier, whether Adverbial or Non-Adverbial, when they co-occur, but in general the Non-Adverbial precede the Adverbial Qualifiers.

CHAPTER 10

CO-OCCURRENCE OF PRE- AND POST- HEAD QUALIFIERS

In this chapter, consideration is given to the possible co-occurrence of pre-Head Qualifiers with post-Head Qualifiers in combination with a single Head. Firstly, the possible co-occurrence of one pre-Head and one post-Head qualifiers is considered, and this is followed by considering the possibility of accumulation of pre-Head and post-Head qualifiers in combination.

10.1 Co-occurrence of one pre-Head and one post-Head Qualifier

Where a given Head can be combined with a number of different pre-Head qualifiers, and the same Head can also be combined with a number of different post-Head qualifiers, any one of these pre-Head qualifiers can, subject to the restrictions mentioned in (ii) below, co-occur with any one of these post-Head qualifiers in qualification of the same Head. For example, Cpd.Nn.I(a) can be preceded by:

Int.Spec.

and the same Cpd.Nn. can also be followed by any of the following post-Head qualifiers:

Ref.	Adj.Cx.(a),(b),(c)
Sh.Dem.	Rel.(a),(b)
Lg.Pos.	Adv.Cx.(b),(d)
Lg.Gen.	Adv.Cl.
Unit.Adj.	Adv.Ph.(a),(b)

Accordingly, where Cpd.Nn.I(a) is in Head position, the Int.Spec. in pre-Head position can co-occur with almost any of these

post-Head qualifiers in qualification of the same Cpd.Nn. Head, as shown in the following examples; the sole exception being the Sh.Dem. as explained in (ii) below.

Int.Spec. + Hd. :

- +Ref. : wàné máalàm Áudù hè? = [which M. Audu?]
 +Lg.Pos. : wàné máalàm Áudù náakà? = [which M. Audu of yours?]
 +Lg.Gen. : wàné máalàm Áudù ná cán? = [which M. Audu from there?]
 +Unit.Ajd. : wàné máalàm Áudù dóogóo? = [which tall M. Audu?]
 +Ajd.Cx. : wàné máalàm Áudù mài dóokii? = [which M. Audu the horseman?]
 +Rel. : wàné máalàm Áudù dà yá zóo? = [which M. Audu who came?]
 +Adv.Cx. : wàné máalàm Áudù dà káayáa? = [which M. Audu with loads?]
 +Adv.Cl. : wàné máalàm Áudù cán báayá? = [which M. Audu back there?]
 +Adv.Ph. : wàné máalàm Áudù riké dà sàà? = [which M. Audu holding an ox?]

As regards restrictions, the following points need to be made:

- (i) Where the pre-Head qualifier is an Adjective, there are no restrictions on its co-occurrence with any of the possible post-Head qualifiers, including Unt.Adj.. Subject to semantic compatibility, therefore, any sub-type of Adjective in pre-Head position can co-occur not only with any post-Head qualifier, but also:-

(a) with a Unit.Adj. of the same sub-type; e.g.:

(1) Agt.Adj. + Hd. + Agt.Adj.:

(yáa sàyi) málàalàacín dóokii máfàdàacii
 [he has bought a lazy, ~~and~~ vicious horse]

(2) Ptpl.Adj. + Hd. + Ptpl.Adj.:

(yáa sàyi) hòorárrén dóokii kiiwàtáccée
 [he has bought a well-trained, ~~and~~ well fed horse]

necessary co-occurrence; that is to say, where either a given qualifier cannot occur in pre-Head position without the co-occurrence of some specific qualifier in post-Head position, or, conversely, a given qualifier cannot occur in post-Head position without the co-occurrence of some specific qualifier in pre-Head position. Qualifiers with this special feature are the following:

(i) Pre-Head Qualifiers: Is.

Dim.

Lg.Dem.

(ii) Post-Head Qualifiers:

Ref.	Adv.Cpd. ^L
Unit.Adj.(a)	Adv.Cl. ^{L, M, St}
Simp.Adv. ^{L, M, St}	Adv.Ph.(a) ^{L, St}
	(b) ^L

(iii) Pre-Head or Post-Head Qualifier:

Lg.Pos.

Isolator:

The Isolator cannot occur in pre-Head position without the co-occurrence of Ref. in post-Head position. Using the same combination of Cpd.Nn.I(a) and post-Head qualifiers as in 10.2 above, therefore, the following can be produced by substituting Is. for Int.Spec. :

+ Unit.Adj.: ḍáyá máalàm Áudù→n dóogóo
[the other tall M. Áudù]

But not: *ḍáyá máalàm Áudù dóogóo

+ Adj. Cx.: ḍáyá máalàm Áudù→n mài dóókìi
[the other M. Audu the horseman]

But not: *ḍáyá máalàm Áudù mài dóókìi

Diminutive:

The Diminutive can normally occur in pre-Head position without the necessary co-occurrence of any other qualifier, but in the sole case of Dim. + Disj. (Hd.) the co-occurrence of a Sh.Dem. in post-Head position is necessary, e.g.:

ḍán níi ḍín nà = [a little creature such as I am]

But not: *ḍán níi

Long Demonstrative:

The Long Demonstrative in pre-Head position requires the co-occurrence of Ref. in post-Head position when any of the following is in Head position:

Qt., Lg.Pos., Unit.Adj., Ideo.

e.g.:

Lg.Dem. + Qt.1 (Hd) + Ref: wádànnán gùdàa góomà→n (sún báṭà)
[those ten are missing]

Not: *wádànnán gùdàa góomà

Lg.Dem.+Lg.Pos.(Hd) + Ref: wádànnán náakà→n (sún ísá)
[those of yours are sufficient]

Not: *wádànnán náakà

Lg.Dem.+Unit.Adj.(Hd)+ Ref: wádànnán fàràaré→n (sún dáawóo)
[those white ones have come back]

Not: *wádànnán fàràaré

Lg.Dem.+Ideo.(Hd.) + Ref.: wànnán tsúruu-tsùruu→n dà yá yí
[that embarrassment he felt]

Not: *wànnán tsúruu-tsùruu dà yá yí

Referential:

Ref. can normally occur after a Head without the co-occurrence of another qualifier, but in the sole case of Ideo.(Hd.) + Ref. the co-occurrence of Rel.(b) is also necessary. e.g.:

làkó→n dà ká gá yáa yí = [the brown study you saw him in]

Not: *làkó→n

tsúruú-tsùrù→n dà yá yí = [the embarrassment that he felt]

Not: *tsúruú-tsùrù→n

Unitary Adjective (a)

Unit.Adj.(a) as post-Head qualifier can occur after any of the three sub-types of Unit.Adj. in Head position only when the Head is also preceded by an Indef. Spec. . e.g.:

Unit.Adj.(a) Hd.: wání máhàrbíi mákèetàcìi = [a cruel hunter]

Unit.Adj.(b) Hd.: wání shàaràrrée máyàlwàcìi = [a well swept
roomy one]

Unit.Adj.(c) Hd.: wání fárii málàalàacìi = [a lazy white one]

Certain Adverbial Qualifiers:

The remaining four qualifiers are all Adverbial, and all can occur after a Non-Dyn. only with the necessary co-occurrence of an Indef. Spec. in pre-Head position. e.g.:

Simple Adverb:

Unit.^L, eg: (àikí) wání yáarò nán = [one of the young men
there]

Unit.^M, " wání yáarò hàkà = [a young man of that
description]

Unit.St, " wátá túkúnyáa gìrké = [a pot a-cooking]

Redp.^M, " wádánsú gwándóojíi hàkà-hàkà = [some pawpaws this
sort of size]

Adverbial Compound:^L

wání mùtúm kán-dóokìi = [a man on a horse]
wátá góonáa kéetárèn-kòogii = [a farm across the river]

Adverbial Cluster:

Loc.: wání mùtúm nán kóofà = [a man there at the door]
Mod.: wátá rìigáa hákà dáidái = [a gown exactly like this]
Stat.: wání mùtúm nán zàuné = [a man there sitting]

Adverbial Phrase:

Type (a): Loc.: wání gídáa kúsá dà kàasúwáa
 [a house near the market]

Stat.: wání máagànií kùnshé à tákàrdáa
 [some medicine wrapped in a piece of paper]

Type (b): Loc.: wání gídáa à dáamá dà kàasúwáa
 [a house to the right of the market]

wání gídáa dàgà néesà dà kúu
 [a house quite far from you]

Long Possessive:

(i) The Lg.Pos. in pre-Head position requires the co-occurrence of Ref. in post-Head position. e.g.:

nàawá líttáafi-n = [my book], Not: *nàawá líttáafii;
táakà tàwádà-r = [your ink], Not: *táakà tàwádàa

(ii) The Lg.Pos. in immediate post-Head position, with a Noun Head other than Proper Noun, requires the co-occurrence of Spec. in pre-Head position. e.g.:

wání líttáafíi nàawá = [a book of mine]

Not: *líttáafíi nàawá

wání dóókíi náasà = [a horse of his]

Not: *dóókíi náasà

Note that this applies to Lg.Pos. in immediate post-Head position only; when there is another qualifier between the Head and the Lg.Pos., the Spec. in pre-Head position is not necessary; e.g. líttáafíi → h nán nàawá = [that book of mine], where Sh.Dem. occurs.

10.3 The possible combinations of pre-Head and post-Head qualifiers with various types of Head are conflated in Table 7, where the existence of restrictions on the combinations are indicated by (+). Possible combinations are indicated by + and non-possibilities are shown by a blank space.

CONFLATION OF POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS OF PRE-HEAD AND POST-HEAD QUALIFIERS WITH VARIOUS TYPES OF HEAD

[illegible]

10 Accumulation: Pre-Head and Post-Head Qualifiers

It is also possible for a combination of several pre-Head qualifiers to co-occur with some post-Head qualifiers, and for a combination of several post-Head qualifiers to co-occur with some pre-Head qualifiers. Combinations such as these can be covered by the following general statements:-

(i) Where a given pre-Head qualifier can co-occur with a given post-Head qualifier, and the same pre-Head qualifier can also co-occur with other pre-Head qualifiers, combinations of all these pre-Head qualifiers with that post-Head qualifier are also possible. The following are two examples:

- (a) The Indefinite Specifier in pre-Head position, for instance, can co-occur with the Adjectival Complex (b) in post-Head position in qualification of Non-Dynamic Noun Head; e.g:

wání littáafii mài àmfàaníi = [a useful book]

and since the Indefinite Specifier can also co-occur with the Diminutive and Adjective in pre-Head position (see Chapter 6, 6.2.1), combinations of all these with the Adjectival Complex (b) in post-Head position are also possible. e.g:

wání (ǫán) (kàrámin) littáafii mài àmfàaníi =
[a useful little book]

- (b) The Diminutive in pre-Head position, on the other hand, can co-occur with the Referential in post-Head position in qualification of the Demonstrative Specifier Head, but no other pre-Head qualifier can co-occur with the Diminutive when Demonstrative Specifier is in Head position, there can be, therefore, only one pre-Head qualifier (the Diminutive) with this particular Head. e.g:

dán wáhnán dín (yáa ísá) = [this little bit is quite enough],

but never:

*dán (kàràmin,.....etc.) wáhnán dín (yáa ísá).

- (ii) Where a given post-Head qualifier can co-occur with a given pre-Head qualifier, and the same post-Head qualifier can also co-occur with other post-Head qualifiers, combinations of all these post-Head qualifiers with that pre-Head qualifier are also possible. The Lg.Pos. in post-Head position, for example, co-occurs with the Spec. in pre-Head position in qualification of Non-Dyn. Head, e.g:

wátá riigáa táasà = [a gown of his],

but the Lg.Pos. can also co-occur with Lg.Gen., Unt.Adj. and Adj.Cx. in post-Head position. Combinations of all these, therefore, can also co-occur with the Spec. in pre-Head position. e.g:

wátá riigáa táasà tá kàrán-mískii sáabúwáa mài áikii =

[a new, embroidered, velvet gown of his]

(iii) Where a given pre-Head qualifier can co-occur with a number of other pre-Head qualifiers and the same qualifier can also co-occur with a given post-Head qualifier which itself can co-occur with other post-Head qualifiers, combinations of all these qualifiers in qualification of the same Head are also possible to a maximum of four in pre-Head position and four in post-Head position.

The Isolator in pre-Head position, for example, can co-occur with three other pre-Head qualifiers and it can also co-occur with the Referential in post-Head position, but the latter can itself co-occur with many other post-Head qualifiers. So, although short Nominal Phrases are more common in the language, long phrases such as the following are quite possible.:

(1) Spec.+Dim.+Pos.+Adj.+ Hd. +Ref.+Lg.Gen.+Qt.1+Adj.Ph.:

wáǎńsú 'yán náamù bàakín sháanú→h ná nóomáa
gùdáa bíyú hòoràrrúu dà súu (sún káasàa)

[a poor couple of recently acquired well-trained
 ploughing oxen of ours (have 'had it')]

- (2) Is.+Dim.+Pos.+Adj.+ Hd. +Ref.+Unit.Adj.+Adj.Cx.+Rel.:

ḍáyá 'yár tàawá sáabúwár riigáàr fàráa màì áikìì dà ná sàyáa
[the other little new, white embroidered gown I bought....]

- (3) Spec.+Dim.+Pos.+Adj.+ Hd. +Ref.+Lg.Gen.+Adj.Cx.+Rel.:

wání ḍán náatà fàrín kwáanò-ṇ ná sháà màì lámbàa dà
tá sàà à kãasúwáa

[a little white, chipped drinking-bowl of hers she put
for sale]

(iv) Where a choice has to be made between the two forms of Genitival Complex (Long and Short) since both can occur as post-Head qualifier, the choice is determined by the presence or absence of a Specifier in pre-Head position. Where the Specifier is present, only the Lg.Gen. can occur, but where the Specifier is absent only the Sh.Gen. occurs. e.g.:

1. wání líttáfíi ná Áudù = [a book of Audu's]

But not: *wání líttáafì-ṇ Áudù

2. líttáafì-ṇ Áudù = [Audu's book]

But not: *líttáafíi ná Áudù

(v) Similarly, the choice between the pre-Head Possessive or either a Long or Short Possessive in the post-Head position, is determined by the presence or absence of a Specifier in pre-Head position, or of a Referential in Post-Head position. viz.:

- (a) Where the Spec. is present, only the Lg.Pos. in the post-Head position occurs, but where the Spec. is absent only the pre-Head Possessive occurs. e.g.:

1. wání littáafi náakà = [a book of yours]

But not: *wání náakà littáafi→n

2. náakà littáafi→n = [your book]

But not: *littáafii náakà

- (b) Where the Ref. is absent, only the Sh.Pos. in post-Head position can occur. e.g.:

littáafi→nkà = [your book]

But not: (i) *littáafii náakà,

or (ii) *náakà littáafii

- (c) Where the Ref. is present, either the pre-Head Possessive, or a Lg.Pos. in post-Head position can occur, and the choice between the two alternatives seems to be semantically determined, e.g.:

1. Pos.+Hd.+Ref.: náakà littáafi→n
[your book (as distinct from others')]

2. Hd.+Ref.+Lg.Pos.: littáafi→n náakà
[your book (which we know about)]

- (vi) As indicated in Chapters 6 (6.1) and 8 (8.1), Adjectives can occur in pre-Head position and can also occur in post-Head position. The choice of position seems to be a matter of emphasis, post-Head Adjectives being apparently more emphatic than those in pre-Head. c.f.:

riigáa fáráa kyàkkyáawáa, with:

kyàkkyáawár fáráa riigáa

[a beautiful_{white} gown]

10.⁵ It has been shown that pre-Head and post-Head Qualifiers can readily co-occur in qualification of the same Head, though with some important restrictions in the case of some of them, e.g. the long Possessive, the Long Demonstrative, the Isolator, and certain Adverbial Qualifiers. Some Qualifiers have two forms, Long and Short or Pre-Head and Post-Head, in complementary distribution, and the choice is determined (a) by the presence or absence of Spec. or Ref., or (b) by semantic factors, especially the question of emphasis.

CHAPTER 11

SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE WITH DYNAMIC NOUN AS HEAD

There are certain special characteristics peculiar to Dynamic Noun Heads, in that:-

- (i) some Post-Head qualifiers occur very much more freely after a Dynamic Noun than any other Nominal Head; and
- (ii) a clause other than a Relative clause can occur in an NP in which Dynamic Noun functions as Head.

These two cases are considered in this Chapter.

11.1 Dynamic Noun with Non-Adverbial Qualifiers

In general, all types of Non-Adverbial qualifiers that can combine with a Non-Dynamic Noun Head, both in pre- and in post-Head positions, can also combine with a Dynamic Noun Head; and the same co-occurrences are also possible. The only exceptions are the following:-

- (A) A Dynamic Noun Head, unlike a Non-Dynamic Noun, is not followed by these three Non-Adverbial qualifiers:-

- Unitary Adjective (c)
- Adjectival Phrase (c)
- Adjectival Complex (c)

For example, the Dynamic Noun: sáatàa = [theft], or
màgánàa = [case]

can be followed by:-

- (i) Unit. Adj. (a), e.g.: *mátsánáncíyáa* = [serious]
 or (b), e.g.: *kàasàitáccíyáa* = [enormous]
 but not by (c), e.g.: *káatùwáa* = [big]
- (ii) Adj. Phr. (a), e.g.: *shìryáyyíyáa tsáf* = [well planned]
 or (b), " : *mátsánáncíyáa áinùn* = [very serious]
 but not by (c), " : *kyàkkyáawáa dà ítá* = [very beautiful]
- (iii) Adj. Cx. (a), e.g.: *mài táa dà hánkàlìi* = [disturbing]
 or (b), " : *mài záafíi* = [hot, painful]
 but not by (c), " : *mài kárfín-hálíi* = [brave]

(B) A Weak Verbal Dynamic Noun is not followed by:-

Unitary Adjective (a)

Thus, while a Non-Verbal Dynamic Noun such as *màgánàa* and a Strong Verbal Dynamic Noun such as *sáatàa* can both be followed by a Unitary Adjective (a) such as *mátsánáncíyáa*, no such Unitary Adjective can follow a Weak Verbal Dynamic Noun such as:-

kóomàawáa = [returning]
wánkèewáa = [washing]
gyáaràawáa = [repairing]

11.2

Dynamic Noun with Adverbial Qualifiers

As regards Adverbial qualifiers, they occur very much more freely after a Dynamic Noun Head than after a Non-Dynamic Noun Head. In the case of Verbal Dynamic Nouns, this is no doubt associated with their relationship to Verbs, and the

Adverbial forms may, perhaps, be regarded as basically dependent on the Verbal root. This aspect of the behaviour of Verbal Dynamic Nouns could, therefore, be regarded as outside the scope of this thesis; but it is worth making some generalisations here, particularly with regard to the combination of Adverbial qualifiers with Non-Verbal Dynamic Noun. :-

11.2.1 Dynamic Noun with one Adverbial Qualifier

In contrast with the limited possibilities after a Non-Dynamic Noun Head, virtually any Adverbial qualifier can occur after a Dynamic Noun Head; the only exception being that :-

- (A) Adverbial ClusterSt does not occur after a Dynamic Noun
- (B) Non-Verbal Dynamic Noun is not followed by:-
 - (i) Simple Adverb^L, and St,
 - (ii) nor a fortiori by Adverbial Cluster^L, which has a Simple Adverb^L in its initial position.

Thus, while 1 - 6 of the following examples are all possible, 7 - 9 do not seem to be possible. :-

- (1) Weak Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Spl.^L, e.g. :-

kóomàawáa cán = [returning there]

kóomàawáa báayá-báayá = [returning a little way back]

- (2) Weak Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Spl.St, e.g. :-

(án tàashée shì) kóomàawáa kwàncé (yá yí)

[he has been woken up, but he just went back to bed]

- (3) Weak Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Adv.Cl.^L, e.g.:-
 tsáyàawáa nán kóofà (yá yí)
 [he just stood there at the door]
- (4) Strong Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Spl.^L, e.g.:-
 fítáa wàr-wàjé (súkà yí)
 [they simply walked out]
- (5) Strong Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Spl.St, e.g.:-
 táashìi tsàyé (súkà yí)
 [they just stood up]
- (6) Strong Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Adv.Cl.^L, e.g.:-
 fítáa cán kóofà (záa kà yí)
 [you (should) just step outside there]

But not:

- (7) Non-Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Spl.^L, e.g.:-
 *dàariyáa cán; or *báccii gàbá-gàbá,
- (8) Non-Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Spl.St, e.g.:-
 *dàariyáa tsàyé or *báccii kwàn-kwàncé
- (9) Non-Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Adv.Cl.^L, e.g.:-
 *dàariyáa nán kóofà or *màgànaa cán cíkín gídáa

11.2.2 Dynamic Noun with two Adverbial Qualifiers

In considering the co-occurrence of two Adverbial qualifiers in combination with a Dynamic Noun Head, it is simpler to summarise all the possible co-occurrences first,

as in the following table, and then to mention certain specific cases and the generalisations that can be made:-

TABLE 8

xxxxxxxxx

On the basis of this table, the following general observations may be made:-

1. Adverb of Degree, Reduplicated Modal Adverb, and Adverbial Phrase (a)^T, do not co-occur with any other Adverbial Form.

2. Adverbial Cluster is mutually exclusive with both Adverbial Compound and Adverbial Phrase.

(a) Two different categories of Simple Adverb can co-occur in qualification of the same Head. viz:-

Unit.^T with Unit.^L, St, or M, e.g.:-

(i) Hd. + Unit.^L + Unit.^T, :

fìtáa wàjé wàrhákà (táà yí wùyáa)

[going out this time of day/night (can be difficult)]

(ii) Hd. + Unit.St + Unit.^T, :

táashìi tsàyé yànzú (hátsàríi nèe)

[it is dangerous to stand up now]

(iii) Hd. + Unit.^M + Unit.^T, :

fìtáa hákà gòobé (sái d'án-gàríi)

[going out in this condition tomorrow is only for the local person]

(b) Two sub-types of the same Adverbial qualifier co-occur in the following cases, provided they belong to different categories:-

- (i) Unit.^T with Redup.^L, and St, (both being sub-types of Simple Adverb); e.g.:-

Hd. + Redup.^L + Unit.^T, :

sàukáa kàsà-kàsà yànzú (táà yí wùyáa)
[getting downwards at this time can be difficult]

Hd. + Redup.St + Unit.^T, :

táashèi tsày-tsàyé gòobé (táà yí wùyáa)
[getting up tomorrow can be difficult (for them)]

- (ii) Adv.Cx.(c)^{Via}, with : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv.Cx.(a)}^M, \text{ and St} \\ \text{Adv.Cx.(b)}^L, \text{ and St} \\ \text{Adv.Cx.(d)}^{\text{Soc}}, \text{ and T} \end{array} \right\}$

Examples are the following:-

- (1) Hd. + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv.Cx.(c)}^{\text{Via}} + \text{Adv.Cx.(a)}^M \\ \text{Adv.Cx.(a)}^M + \text{Adv.Cx.(c)}^{\text{Via}} \end{array} \right\}$

- (i) zúwàa tá nà à móotàa (zái yí wùyáa)
or (ii) zúwàa à móotàa tá nà (zái yí wùyáa)
[coming by car through this way will be difficult]

$$(2) \quad \underline{\text{Hd.}} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv.Cx. (a)}^{\text{St}} + \text{Adv.Cx. (c)}^{\text{Via}} \\ \text{Adv.Cx. (c)}^{\text{Via}} + \text{Adv.Cx. (a)}^{\text{St}} \end{array} \right\}$$

- (i) fítáa à tsàyé tá kóofàn nán (hátsàríi nèe/cèe)
 or (ii) fítáa tá kóofàn nán à tsàyé (hátsàríi nèe/cèe)
 [getting out unbent through this door is dangerous]

$$(3) \quad \underline{\text{Hd.}} + \text{Adv.Cx. (b)}^{\text{L}} + \text{Adv.Cx. (c)}^{\text{Via}}, :-$$

zúwàa (Gwàmbè) dàgà Kánóo tá Mìsàu (táa fí
 sáukíi)

[travelling (to Gombe) from Kano via Misau is easier]

$$(4) \quad \underline{\text{Hd.}} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv.Cx. (b)}^{\text{St}} + \text{Adv.Cx. (c)}^{\text{Via}} \\ \text{Adv.Cx. (c)}^{\text{Via}} + \text{Adv.Cx. (b)}^{\text{St}} \end{array} \right\}$$

- (i) sháa dàgà kwàncé tá bàakín kwáryáa (bàa zái
 yí dáadíi bá)
 or (ii) sháa tá bàakín kwáryáa dàgà kwàncé (bàa zái
 yí dáadíi bá)

[drinking direct from a gourd while lying down will be awkward]

$$(5) \quad \underline{\text{Hd.}} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv.Cx. (c)}^{\text{Via}} + \text{Adv.Cx. (d)}^{\text{T}} \\ \text{Adv.Cx. (d)}^{\text{T}} + \text{Adv.Cx. (c)}^{\text{Via}} \end{array} \right\}$$

- (i) shìgáa tá nán dà àlmúurùu (hátsàríi nèe/cèe)
 or (ii) shìgáa dà àlmúurùu tá nán (hátsàríi nèe/cèe)
 [entering (it) by this (door) at sunset is dangerous]

$$(6) \quad \underline{\text{Hd.}} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{Adv.Cx.}(c)^{\text{Via}} + \text{Adv.Cx.}(d)^{\text{Soc}}} \\ \underline{\text{Adv.Cx.}(d)^{\text{Soc}} + \text{Adv.Cx.}(c)^{\text{Via}}} \end{array} \right\}$$

(i) shìgáa tá kóofàn nán dà dóókii (bàa zaa tà yìwù bá)

or (ii) shìgáa dà dóókii tá kóofàn nán (bàa zaa tà yìwù bá)

[entering with a horse through this door is impossible]

(iii) Adv.Cx.(a)^M, and St with Adv.Cx.(d)^T, and Ins; e.g.:-

$$(1) \quad \underline{\text{Hd.}} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{Adv.Cx.}(a)^{\text{M}} + \text{Adv.Cx.}(d)^{\text{T}}} \\ \underline{\text{Adv.Cx.}(d)^{\text{T}} + \text{Adv.Cx.}(a)^{\text{M}}} \end{array} \right\}$$

(i) tàfíyàa à dóókii dà àlmúurùu (táa fí kárfín rágóo)

or (ii) tàfíyàa dà àlmúurùu à dóókii (táa fí kárfín rágóo)

[travelling on horse-back at sunset is not for a weakling]

$$(2) \quad \underline{\text{Hd.}} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{Adv.Cx.}(a)^{\text{St}} + \text{Adv.Cx.}(d)^{\text{Ins}}} \\ \underline{\text{Adv.Cx.}(d)^{\text{Ins}} + \text{Adv.Cx.}(a)^{\text{St}}} \end{array} \right\}$$

(i) cíi (-n àbíncí) à tsàyé dà cóokàlìi (bàa kyáu)

or (ii) cíi (-n àbíncí) dà cóokàlìi à tsàyé (bàa kyáu)

[eating (food) with a spoon while standing up is considered bad manners]

3. Apart from these cases, no two Adverbial Qualifiers of the same category co-occur; nor do Adverbial Qualifiers of the same type or sub-type, whether of the same or of different category, except as specified below:

The above general statements are more comprehensive than, and in fact comprehend, the statements made about the co-occurrence of Adverbial Qualifiers after a Non-Dynamic Noun Head, since the occurrence of individual Adverbial Qualifiers after the latter is much more restricted.

11.2.3 Accumulation of Adverbial Qualifiers of different types after a Dynamic Noun Head, and their Relative Order

In general, subject to the restrictions described in 11.2.1 (A) and (B), and to those described in 11.2.2 (a) - (e), any three or four Adverbial Qualifiers can co-occur after a Dynamic Noun Head. But when these restrictions are taken into account, there are in fact only four possible patterns of accumulation of different types of Adverbial Qualifiers, viz.:

- (a) Simple Adverb with Adverbial Compound,
Adverbial Complex,
 and Adverbial Phrase;
- (b) Simple Adverb with Adverbial Complex,
 and Adverbial Cluster;
- (c) Simple Adverb with Adverbial Phrase,
 and Adverbial Complex;
- (d) Adverbial Compound with Adverbial Complex,
 and Adverbial Phrase.

Examples of such combinations, with only one of each type of qualifier, are the following:-

- (a) Hd. + Adv.Cpd.^L + Simp.Uni^T + Adv.Cx.(a)^M + Adv.Ph.(b)^{Via} :

shìgáa cíkín gàríí yáù à móotàa tá yámmá dà kàasúwáa
 (táa fí kárfín rágóo)

[entering the city today by car by the west of the market
 is beyond a weak person's ability]

- (b) Hd. + Adv.Cx.(d)^{Soc} + Adv.Cl.^L + Simp.Uni^T :

fítáa dà dáwáakíi cán báayán gàríí gòobé (táa)

[going out with horses up to the outskirts of the town
 tomorrow ... is]

- (c) Hd. + Simp.Uni^L + Adv.Cx.(c)^{Via} + Adv.Ph.(a)St

shìgáa nán tá wánnàn kóofàa dàuké dà káayáa (záa tà...)

[entering here by this door carrying luggage will]

(d) Hd. + Adv.Cpd.^L + Adv.Cx.(d)^T + Adv.Ph.(b)^{Via}

zúwàa cìkín gàríi dà àlmúurùu tá kúsá dà dúutsèn nán (táa..)
[entering the city at sunset through the side of this
mountain is...]

In the case of (b), (c) and (d), the maximum number of Adverbial qualifiers of different types is naturally three, although the co-occurrence of four qualifiers is possible where there is a combination of two Adverbial Complexes. e.g.:-

(b) Hd. + Adv.Cx.(d)^{Soc} + Adv.Cl.^L + Adv.Cx.(c)^{Via} +Simp.Unit.^T :

fitáa dà dóókíi cán báayán gàríi tá wánnàn kóofàa gòobé....
[going out with a horse up to the outskirts of the city
through this gate tomorrow is....]

(c) Hd. +Simp.Unit.^L + Adv.Cx.(d)^{Soc} + Adv.Cx.(c)^{Via} + Adv.Ph.(a)St :

shìgáa cìkíi dà dóókíi tá wánnàn kóofàa rìké dà takòobíi...
[entering inside with a horse through this gate (and)
holding a sword ... is]

(d) Hd. + Adv.Cpd.^L + Adv.Cx.(d)^T + Adv.Cx.(c)^{Via} + Adv.Ph.(a)St :

shìgáa cìkín rùmbúu dà àlmúurùu tá tsáanìi dàu ké dà dāmìi
(kàm sǎnǎnníyár àl'áadàr Áudù cée)
[entering the corn-bin in the evening by the ladder and
carrying a bundle of corn is a well known habit of Audu's]

The sequential order in which Adverbial qualifiers normally co-occur after a Dynamic Noun Head is, more or less,

the same as after the Non-Dynamic Noun, and can be expressed by the following formula, where x and z indicate that the two items so marked are mutually exclusive:-

Simp. Cpd.^x Cx. Cl. ^{$\frac{x}{z}$} Ph.^z

The following variations, however, have to be allowed for:-

- (i) It seems that Simple Unitary^T can occur in any position after a Dynamic Noun Head (i.e. initially, midially, or finally), as shown in examples (a) and (b) above.
- (ii) Where an Adverbial Cluster occurs in a sequence in which two Adverbial Complexes also co-occur, the Adverbial Cluster can occur between the two Complexes. An example of this is also to be found in (b) above.
- (iii) Adverbial Complex (c)^{Via} occurs either first or second in any combination of two Adverbial Complexes in which it occurs, whether the sequence consists of other qualifiers or not. A number of examples of this have been given in 11.2.2 (b) (ii).

More examples of such combinations are the following:

- (1) Hd. + Adv.Cpd.^L + Adv.Cx.(a)^M + Simp.Unit.^T + Adv.Cx.(c)^{Via}
zúwàa cíkín-gídáa à móotàa yáù tá wánnàh hányàa (táà)
 [visiting the (emir's) house by car today through this road...]
- (2) Hd. + Simp.Unit.St + Adv.Cpd. + Adv.Cx.(d)^T + Adv.Ph.(a)St
(bàbbán áikìn dōogāràn nán shíinèe):-
táashìi tsàyé kàn-dáwáakíi dà Sálláa rìrriké dà tákúbbàa à
hànnú
 [the main job of these guards is standing up on horses during
 Id (Salla) celebration holding swords in their hands]

(3) Hd. + Adv.Cx.(c)^{Via} + Adv.Cl.^L + Adv.Cx.(d)^{Soc} + Simp.Unit.^T

wícēwáa tá máháuráa nán kúsá dà múu dà dàwàakánsù jíyà

(muka ga sunaa yii)

[passing by the gap in the city-wall just near us with
their horses yesterday that we saw them doing]

11.2.3.1 It should be added that, there may be some variations in the standard sequential order described above, after a Verbal Dynamic Noun Head:

- (a) certain Adverbial forms (which may be regarded as closely dependent on the verbal root within the Dynamic Noun) taking priority in the sequence, or
- (b) the relative order of categories, in some cases, being of more importance than the relative order of types of qualifier.

But these are primarily features of the Verb and cannot be dealt with in detail here.

11.3 The Occurrence of a Clause within an NP

There are certain circumstances where a clause other than a Relative clause may occur within an NP in which the Head is a Dynamic Noun. The main verb in the clause can be in the Subjunctive or in any of the General Indicative tenses⁽¹⁾, except the Second Future and perhaps the Iterative (Habitual)

-
- (1) (a) Rarely a Relative Indicative in an emphatic type clause such as gardamar shaanuu shaanuu suka sayoo (sukee yii)
 - (b) The term General Indicative is here used, as it has

which never seem to occur in a clause dependent on a Dynamic Noun.

The clause can occur:-

- (i) immediately after a Short Genitive Link to form a Genitival Complex in dependence on the Dynamic Noun,
- or (ii) immediately after the Dynamic Noun without any Link, depending on the type of Dynamic Noun involved.

- (a) After a Non-Verbal Dynamic Noun, the clause normally occurs as part of a Genitival Complex, as in (i) above, though pattern (ii) without a Link, is not uncommon. e.g.:

+GP.: gárdámàr (or gárdámàa) sùn dáawóo (yákèe yíì)⁽²⁾
[he is disputing that they are back]

+NP.: fàrgàbár (fàrgàbáa) bà sù dáawóo bá (yákèe yíì)
[he is apprehensive that they have not (yet) come back]

(1) (b) (Continued)

been used by Mr F.W. Parsons, to refer to the following tenses:-

General Past; First Future; General Continuous; Iterative; Negative Past; Negative Future; Negative Continuous.

- (2) These and subsequent examples contain a Dynamic Noun etc. in emphatic positions, depending on yíi/yi at the end of the sentence, though the construction of English gloss does not correspond to this.

+FF.: kúukán (or kúukáa) záa sù dáawóo (yákèe yíi)
[he is complaining that they are coming back]

+NF.: fáatán (or fáatáa) bàa záa sù dáawóo bá (yákeè yíi)
[he is hoping that they will not come back]

+ Subj.: àddú'àr (or àddú'aa) sù dáawóo (yákèe yíi)
[he is praying that they should come back]

+GC.: dàariyáf (or dàariyáa) súnàa dáawódwáa (yákèe yíi)
[he is laughing that they are coming back]

+NC.: fúshín (or fúshii) báa sàa dáawódwáa (yákèe yíi)
[he is angry that they are not coming back]

- (b) After a Verbal Dynamic Noun, pattern (ii), without a Link, is by far the more common. After a Strong Verbal Dynamic Noun, the pattern (i), with the Link, does occur as a variant; but this does not apply to the Weak Verbal Dynamic Noun, after which pattern (ii) is the only possibility. e.g.:-

(i) Strong Verbal Dynamic Noun + Clause

+GP.: kàrbáa (or kàrbáf) yáa káawóo (múkà yí)
[we accept his word that he has brought it]

+NP.: kàrbáa (or kàrbáf) bàì zàagée shì bá (múkà yí)
[we accept his word that he did not abuse him]

+FT.: hàkúràa (or hàkúràr) záì rúbùutáa mánà (múkà yí)
[we made do with his (promise of) writing to/for us]

+NF.: hàkúràa (or hàkúràr) bàa ^{zàì} rúbùutáa bá (múkà yí)
[we surrendered (to his insistence) that he will not write]

+Subj.: hàkúràa (or hàkúràr) sù jée (mùkà yí)

[we reluctantly let them go]

+GC.: kàrbáa (or kàrbár) súnàa zúwàa (záa mù yí)

[we (will) take their word for it that they are coming]

+NC.: hàkúràa (or hàkúràr) bàa sàa rúbùutáawáa (záa mù ríkà yí)

[we (should) bear with their failure to write as often as]

(ii) Weak Verbal Dynamic Noun + Clause:

+GP.: túnàawáa (but not túnàawár) yáa màkàrà jiyà (mùkà yí)

[we have (just) remembered that he was late yesterday]

+NP.: túnàawáa (but not túnàawár) bàì zóo bá (mùkà yí)

[we have (just) remembered that he was absent]

+FF.: túnàawáa (not túnàawár) záa sù zóo màkàrántáa (mùkà yí)

[we have (just) remembered that they are coming to school]

+NF.: túnàawáa (not túnàawár) bàa záa sù zóo bá (mùkà yí)

[we have (just) remembered that they won't come]

+Subj.: màhtáawáa (not màhtáawár) yà kúllè kóofàa (yá yí)

[he had forgotten to lock the door, (so the thief entered)]

+GC.: màhtáawáa (not màhtáawár) yánàa báccíi (mùkà yí)

[we had forgotten that he was asleep, (so we started banging)]

+NC.: màhtáawáa (not màhtáawár) bàa yàa rúbùutáawáa (mùkà yí)

[we had forgotten that he was not writing (it)]

11.4 It is worth noting that, NP's with Dynamic Noun as Head and combined with Adverbial or Non-Adverbial qualifiers, as described above, can follow an Indeterminate Verb such as iyà or the Continuous Morpheme nàa as well as occurring in other constructions, as shown in the following examples. :

In examples (a) the Dyn.Nn. is preceded by the Indeterminate Verb; while in

(b) it is preceded by the Continuous Morpheme:-

Dyn.Nn. + Non-Adverbial Qualifier:

- (a) + Unit.Adj. : Audù yàa iyà mágánàa shífyáyyíyáa
[Audu can make a well-prepared speech]
- (b) + Adj.Cx. Audù nàa mágánàa mài táa.dà hánkàlìi
[Audu is making a disturbing speech]

Dyn.Nn. + Adverbial Qualifiers :

- (a) + Simp.Unit.^L + Adv.Cx.(c)^{Via} + Adv.Ph.(a)St
Audù záì iyà shìgáa nán tá wánnàn kóofaa òauké dà káayáa
[Audu can enter here by this door carrying luggage]
- (b) + Adv.Cpd.^L + Adv.Cx.(d)^T + Adv.Ph.(b)^{Via}
Áudù nàa zúwàa cíkín gáríi dà àlmúurùu tá kúsá dà dúutsèn nán
[Audu goes to the city at sunset by the side of this mountain]

Dyn.Nn. + Clause:

- (a) Audù nàa iyà kàrbáa yà káawóo mínì
[Audu could get it and bring it to me]
- (b) Audù nàa kàrbáf yà káawóo mínì kùwá dái?
[Can Audu agree to bring (it) to me?]

- (a) Audù yáà íyà túnàawáa yáa màkàrà jíyà
[Audu can remember he was late yesterday]
- (b) Audù nàa màntàawáa báa tàa rúbùutáawáa
[Audu forgets that she is not writing it]

11.5

Conclusion

In this chapter, two distinctive features of Dynamic Nouns Head have been observed. :

- (a) Although in some respects Dynamic Nouns as Head behave like Non-Dynamic Nouns in that most of the Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can occur after them just as they do after Non-Dynamic Nouns, they are distinctive in that Adverbial Qualifiers can occur and co-occur much more freely after them than they do after any other types of Head.
- (b) Dynamic Nouns as Head can be followed also by a Clause other than the Relative Clause, whereas this is not true of any other types of Head.

CHAPTER 12THE OPERATION OF GENDER WITHIN THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

Gender is a system of agreement between various items. It is such an obvious feature in Hausa that it has been dealt with as a matter of course in works on the language, and it has been covered in particular detail by Mr. F.W. Parsons.⁽¹⁾ Here, attention is given only to the operation of gender within the Nominal Phrase, although some reference to its operation outside the NP is occasionally necessary.

In general, items occurring in the Nominal Phrase may be divided into those which enter into a 'Masculine' pattern of agreement, and those which enter into a 'Feminine' pattern of agreement; and they will here, as is normal, be referred to as being masculine or feminine as the case may be.

Some of the items themselves contain overt markers of their gender, while others do not. A further distinction can be made between items which control agreement within the NP and items whose gender is controlled by some other items; and again, between items which always control the gender of other items and those which only do so in certain circumstances.

(1) See F.W. Parsons' articles: 'An introduction to gender in Hausa', African Language Studies 1, 1960; 'The operation of Gender in Hausa', African Language Studies 2 and 4, 1961 and 1963.

Within the Nominal Phrase, the agreement is always controlled by the Head, the gender of such qualifiers as are marked for gender being controlled by the gender of the Head. The ensuing discussion of gender can therefore conveniently be arranged on the basis of whether the various types of item can occur only as Head or as Qualifier, or can occur as either, as shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9

<u>Function of the item</u>	<u>Items with Overt Markers of Gender</u>	<u>Items without Overt Markers of Gender</u>
<u>Only as Head</u>	Some Nouns (a) Indefinite Pronoun Interrogative Pronoun <small>(Specific)</small> Disjunctive Pronoun (b)	The majority of Nouns (b) Compound Noun Disjunctive Pronoun (a) Interrogative Pronoun (General)
<u>Only as Qualifier</u>	Diminutive Interrogative Specifier The I. P. H. Q.'s (other than Sh.Dem. Near)	Indeterminate Qualifier Geminate Adjective Adverbial Complex Adverbial Phrase Relative Clause (b) Sh.Demonstrative (Near)
<u>Either as Head or as Qualifier</u>	Indefinite Specifier Long Demonstrative (Far) Long Genitival Complex Long Possessive The majority of Unt.Adj. Adjectival Phrase Relative Clause (a)	Isolator Quantifier Long Demonstrative (Near) Some Exceptional <u>Unt.Adj.</u> Ideophone Adjectival Complex Simple Adverb Adverbial Compound Adverbial Cluster

12.1

ITEMS OCCURRING ONLY AS HEAD

As far as gender within the NP is concerned, items which function as Head control agreement rather than are controlled. There are cases, however, where the gender of such items may be said to be controlled externally by some factors outside the NP, and specific reference is made to this where appropriate.

12.1.1

Nouns

Nouns fall into two groups, one consisting of nouns marked for gender, the other consisting of nouns not so marked:

- (a) Nouns marked for gender are those which have two distinct singular forms, one masculine and the other feminine. e.g.:

<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
záakíi	záakányàa	[lion]
kádèe	kádányàa	[shea-trea]
máalàmíi	máalámáa	[learned person]

In this case, the contrast between the two sets of suffixes -íi, -èe, -íi, and -àa, -ányàa, -áa, corresponding to the masculine and feminine forms respectively, establishes these suffixes as the markers of gender.

- (b) The great majority of nouns, however, are unmarked for gender, having only one singular form, e.g.:

tàakàlmfi	= [shoe(s)]	múrhùu	= [cooking place]
kújèeráa	= [chair]	láabúlee	= [curtain(s)]
gádóo	= [bed]	fártányàa	= [hoe]

Although these nouns are unmarked for gender in the sense that there is nothing in the shape of the nouns which is a clear indication of their gender, nevertheless they control either masculine or feminine agreement, as indicated by (m.) or (f.) in the following examples:

(i) Noun^(m.) + Unit.Adj.

wàndóo zàanánnee (yáa..)=[an embroidered pair of trousers (is...)]

ràwàníi sáabóo (yáa...) =[a new turban (is...)]

(ii) Noun^(f.) + Unit.Adj.

rìligáa zàanánníyáa (táa..) = [an embroidered gown (is)]

hùuláa sáabúwáa (táa...) = [a new hat (is)]

While the Nouns in group (a) have markers, and those in group (b) have no specific markers of gender, some generalisations can be made about the gender of Nouns (more exactly, the gender which Nouns normally control) covering both these groups, partly on the basis of their termination, and partly on the basis of the type to which they belong. These are given in Appendix C, since the details are not relevant here, though some reference will occasionally be made to some of the sub-groupings.

As shown in the Appendix, the gender of Nouns in the majority of cases is fixed, but there are certain cases where the gender differs in different contexts, and may be said to

be externally controlled. These are the nouns which have been described as having Common Gender ((B) in Appendix C). Where the referent⁽¹⁾ is male, the nouns have masculine agreement, and where the referent is female the nouns have feminine agreement.

The operation of gender with a Noun Head may be illustrated by the following examples, some with a Masculine Noun, others with a Feminine Noun. Where a masculine noun is in Head position, all Qualifiers (both pre-Head and post-Head) that are marked for gender will also be masculine, and where a feminine noun is in Head position, they will be feminine. e.g.:-

1. Hd.+Sh.Gen.: Masc.: máalà mí→ń mákárántáa
 Fem.: máalà má→f mákárántáa
 [school-teacher]
2. Hd.+Sh.Pos.: Masc.: máalà mí→ń sù
 Fem.: máalà má→f rsù
 [their teacher]
3. Hd.+Sh.Dem.: Masc.: máalà mí→ń càn
 Fem.: máalà má→f càn
 [that teacher]
4. Hd.+Ref.: Masc.: máalà mí→ń
 Fem.: máalà má→f
 [the teacher]
5. Hd.Unlt.Adj.: Masc.: (wání) máalà mí tsóohóo
 Fem.: (wátá) máalà má tsóohúwáa
 [a certain teacher who is old]

(1) The word 'referent' is used to mean the person or thing referred to.

In the case of the nouns described at (B) in Appendix C as having Common gender, the gender-marked Qualifiers will be masculine where the referent is male, and feminine where it is female. e.g.:-

1. Hd. + Sh.Gen.: Masc.: kàaká→ń Audù
[Audu's grandfather]
Fem.: kàaká→ř Audù
[Audu's grandmother]
2. Hd. + Sh.Pos.: Masc.: máasínjà→ńkù
Fem.: máasínjà→řkù
[your messenger]
3. Hd.+unt.Adj.: Masc.: àkú wàayáyyée
Fem.: àkú wàayáyyíyáa
[a clever parrot]

12.1.2

Pronoun

There is only one form for:

- (i) Disjunctive Pronoun (a) (1st Person singular), níi = [I],
- (ii) and the General Interrogative Pronoun, wàa = [who?].

These can be said to have Common Gender, since they control masculine agreement where the referent is male, or feminine agreement where the referent is female. In a sung praise-epithet, for instance, boasting about himself or herself:-

(a) a man may say:

Hd. + Lg.Gen.: (sái) níi ná Audù (kèe iyà.....)

[only I, Audu's hero^{ine}, am able to....]

(b) a woman using the same praise-epithet may say:

Hd. + Lg.Gen.: (sái) níi tá Audù (kèe iyà.....)

[only I, Audu's hero^{ine}, am able to ...]

Further examples, with the General Interrogative Pronoun in Head position instead of the Disjunctive Pronoun (a), are the following:-

Hd. + Rel.:

(i) Masc.: wàa wándà yá fitá (kákèe màgánàa) ?

(ii) Fem.: wàa wáddà tá fitá (kákèe màgánàa) ?

[about whom who has gone out are you talking?]

All the remaining pronouns have two distinct singular forms, one masculine and the other feminine and, in this case, the whole of the form may be treated as the marker of gender. (It might be possible to analyse the Indefinite and the Specific Interrogative Pronouns in term of a stem wa(a)- followed by a Link and then by -ne(e) / -ce(e) (cf. 12.3.1.5), but such an analysis does not seem to be particularly helpful for the present purpose.) The forms are as follows:

	<u>Masc.</u> <u>Form</u>	<u>Fem.</u> <u>Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(a) <u>Indefinite Pronoun</u> :	wáánè	wáncè	so and so
(b) <u>Disjunctive Pronoun(b)</u> : 2nd Person	kái	kée	you
3rd Person	shíi	ítá	he, she
(c) <u>Specific Interrogative Pronoun</u> :	wánnée	wáccée	which one

The following are some examples of the operation of gender concord:-

(i) Indef.(Hd.) + Ref. + Rel.:

(a) Masc.: wáanè→h wàndà kákèe fàdàa (yaa zoo)

(b) Fem.⁽⁴⁾: wáncè→h wàddà kákèe fàdàa (táa zóo)

[such and such (a person) you have
been talking about has arrived]

(ii) Disj.(Hd.) + Lg.Gen.:

(a) Masc.: shfi ná Audù (yáa tsúufá)

(b) Fem.: ítá tá Audù (táa tsúufá)

[that one of Audu's has grown old]

The gender of all Pronouns is itself controlled externally by the gender of the anaphor.

12.1.3

Compound Noun

As regards the gender which they control in other items, the Compound Nouns have the following features:

Compound Noun I.

Compound Noun I (having a Noun, or an Adjective, as core) have the same gender as the Noun or Adjective which comprises the core. Thus, in the following examples the Compound Noun functioning as Head in the first of each pair controls masculine agreement like the nouns máalàm(fí), kàréé, jíníí, gárgárfí, and the masculine Adjective káatò;

(4) For the form of Referential here, see 12.2.1.2 below

while the second of each pair controls feminine agreement like the nouns máalámáa, fitílàa, kòoráa, zúuciyyáa, and kásáa.

(It is to be noted that this core noun controls the gender of other items (Gen.Cx., Unt.Adj., etc.) within the compound in the same way as in the comparable Nominal Phrase. e.g.: Masc.: →ní móotàa, fárin, ján; Fem.: →f kásáa, bákár, fárár.)

(a) Cpd.Nn. I(a) + Lg.Gen.:

Masc.: máalám-Audù ná Wùdíl = [the M. Audu of Wudil]

Fem.: máalámáa-Láadi tá Fágé = [Malama Ladi of Fage]

(b) Cpd.Nn. I(b) + Unit.Adj.:

Masc.: (wání) kàréni-móotàa sáuràyíi = [a young
driver's mate]

Fem.: (wátá) fitílàr-kásáa tsóohúwáa = [an old mud
lamp]

(c) Cpd.Nn. I(c) + Unit.Adj.:

Masc.: káatòo-dà-làgée dányée (suka ci)
[they have eaten under-cooked beans]

Fem.: kòoráa-dà-hálíi múugùwáa (ákà yí músù)
[they were given such a very cool reception]

(d) Cpd.Nn. I.(d) + Sh.Gen.:

Masc.: fárin-jíní→n Audù (yáa ísá làabáarli)
[Audu's popularity is worth talking about]

Fem.: bákár-zúuciyyá→f Audù (táa yí yáwàa)
[Audu's bad temper is too much]

(e) Cpd.Nn. I.(d) + Ref. + Lg.Pos.:Masc.: ján-gárgárí→h náakà (yáa jíkà)

[your red clay soil is soaked]

Fem.: fárár-kásá→i táakà (táa jíkà)

[your whitewash is soaked]

For the I.P.H.Q.'s see 12.2.1.2 below.

Compound Noun II.

On the basis of the gender which they control in other items, Compound Nouns II can be divided into three categories:

- (a) The first category consists of Compound Nouns which can refer to either a male or a female, and which have Common gender, such as:

dùubà-gàri = [sanitary inspector]

tàttàbà-kúnné = [great grandchild]

Where the reference is to a male they control masculine agreement, and where the reference is to a female they control feminine agreement.

(i) Masculine:Hd. + Unit.Adj.: (wání) dùubà-gàrí yáarò (yáa shígóo)

[a young sanitary inspector has come in]

Hd. + Lg. Gen.: (wání) tàttàbà-kúnné ná Audù (yáa ràsú)

[a great-grandson of Audu's has died]

(ii) Feminine:

Hd. + Unit.Adj.: (wátá) dùubà-gàri yáarínyàa (táa shígóo)
[a young sanitary inspector has come in]

Hd. + Lg. Gen.: (wátá) tàttàbà-kúnné tá Audù (táa ràsú)
[a great-granddaughter of Audu's died]

(b) In some cases where the Compound Noun corresponds in meaning to some simple noun, the gender which it controls seems to be determined by analogy with the gender of the corresponding simple noun. e.g.:-

(i) The Compound Noun hàná-sállà controls feminine agreement perhaps by analogy with hùuláa = [hat, cap). e.g.:-

Hd. + Unit.Adj.: hàná-sállà sáabúwáa (táa bátà)
[a new hat is missing]

(ii) The compound Noun gàidà-yàayá, perhaps by analogy with táasàa = [brass bowl], controls feminine agreement. e.g.:-

Hd. + Unit.Adj.: (táa sàyí) gàidà-yàayá sáabúwáa
[she has bought a new medium-sized
brass bowl]

(iii) The Compound Noun káa-fí-dáa-wùyáa, perhaps by analogy with the masculine noun dúutsèe, is masculine, and controls masculine agreement. e.g.:-

Hd. + Unit.Adj.: káa-fí-dáa-wùyáa kyàkkyáawáa (ákà báatà)
[it was a good K.F.D.W. necklace that
she was given]

- (c) All the remaining Compound Nouns II control only masculine agreement. e.g.:-

Hd. + Unit.Adj. : wání bàr-ní-dà-múugù káatò (yáa fítóo másà)
[he has got a big carbuncle on his face]

Hd. + Lg.Gen. : (wání) fàadí-kà-mùtù ná Láarái (yáa fáshèe)
[a china of Larai has broken to pieces]

Hd. + Sh.Dem.+Rel. : rìgàa-káfi→n nán dà yá sháa (shíi kèe
wáhál dà shíi
[the medicine he has taken as a
precaution is what bothers him]

Compound Noun III.

Compound Nouns III control only masculine agreement, irrespective of the gender of its component elements and of its reference. e.g.:

Hd.+Adj.Phr. : fii-dà-sártsè dányée shátáf (yáa fáadàa ríijiyár)
[a quite green euphorbia-branch has fallen down
the well]

Hd.+Ref.+Lg.Poss. : kyàl-kyàl-bánzá→n náatà (záa tà dáuràa)
[she will wear her tinselly dress]

Hd. + Ref. + Rel. : rùb-dà-cíkí→n dà yákèe yíi (bàa shí dà àmfàaníi)
[this prostrate attitude which he adopts is
pointless]

12.2

ITEMS OCCURRING ONLY AS QUALIFIER

12.2.1

ITEMS MARKED FOR GENDER

12.2.1.1 Diminutive, and Interrogative Specifier

The Diminutive has two singular forms (masculine dáń and feminine 'yáń) where the whole form is the marker of gender.

In the case of the Interrogative Specifier, which again has two singular forms (masculine wàně and feminine wàcè), it is probably simplest to treat the whole form as marking the gender. It would be possible, as in the case of other Specifiers, to analyse them in terms of a stem wà-, with no assignable meaning, and a suffix (masculine -ně, feminine -cè) which would be the marker of gender; but there seems to be no particular advantage in this, especially as the low-toned wà- is not identical with wa element in some other Specifiers. (cf. 12.1.2)

Although these qualifiers occur in pre-Head position, their gender is controlled by the gender of the Head, the masculine form occurring before a masculine Head, the feminine form before a feminine Head. e.g.:-

(a) Dim. + Hd. + Ref. :

Masc.: dáń líttáafí→ń = [the little book]

Fem.: 'yáń kàasúwá→ń = [the little market]

(b) Intr.Spec.⁽¹⁾ + Hd.

Masc.: wàně líttáafíi = [which book]

Fem.: wàcè kàasúwàà = [which market]

(1) The first item in the Compound Specifier (See Ch.4, 4.2) behaves in exactly the same way as the Interrogative Specifier.

12.2.1.2

Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers

The majority of the Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers (I.P.H.Q.) can be analysed as containing an -n or -r element, which in most cases is the marker of gender. The incidence of these elements may be illustrated by the examples below, in which they are shown first after a masculine and then after a feminine noun as Head.

<u>QUALIFIER</u>	<u>MASCULINE</u>		<u>FEMININE</u>		<u>Gloss</u>
	<u>Element</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Element</u>	<u>Example</u>	
<u>Ref.:</u>	→n shìràayí→h		(i) →r rùmfá→r		= the hut
			(ii) →h áahù→h		= the l ₂ ¹ d
<u>Sh.Dem. (Far):</u>	→n shìràayí→n càn		(i) →r rùmfá→c càn		= that hut
			(ii) →n áahù→h càn		= that l ₂ ¹ d
<u>Sh.Dem. (Near):</u>	→n shìràayí→n nàh		(i) →n rùmfá→n nàh		= this hut
<u>Sh.Gen.:</u>	→n shìràayí→n Àlì		(i) →r rùmfá→r Àlì		= Ali's hut
			(ii) →n áahù→h Àlì		= Ali's l ₂ ¹ d
<u>Sh.Pos.:</u>	→n shìràayí→nsà		(i) →r rùmfá→fsà		= his hut
			(ii) →n áahù→nsà		= his l ₂ ¹ d
" <u>1st P.:</u>	→náa shìràayíi→ná(a)		(i) →táa rùmfáa→ta(a)		= my hut

On the basis of these and similar examples, it may be said that:

(i) In the Sh.Dem. (Near), there is no distinction of gender, the same form →n nan occurring after both a masculine and a feminine Head. It is in fact not marked for gender and is listed as such in Table 9 above.

- (ii) In the case of the Ref. and all the remaining I.P.H.Q.'s, except the 1st person Possessive, →n is the exponent⁽¹⁾ of masculine gender, and →r/→n the exponent of feminine gender, the →r and →n alternants being in complementary distribution.
- (iii) In the 1st Possessive, →ná(a) is the exponent of masculine gender, →tá(a)/→ná(a) (in complementary distribution) the exponent of feminine gender.

The masculine forms in the case of (ii) and (iii) occur after a masculine Head, the feminine forms, whether →r or →n, occur after a feminine Head, their distribution being as described in 12.2.1.2.1 below, where it is convenient to refer to forms containing the →r element as →r forms and those containing the →n element as →n forms.

12.2.1.2.1 Forms of Feminine I.P.H.Q.'s after various types of Head

While all feminine nouns ending in -a/-aa are followed by the →r form (the →ta(a) form of the 1st person Possessive), feminine nouns ending otherwise than in -a/-aa (all being in categories (iii) and (iv) as given in Appendix C) are followed by the →n form (the →na(a) form of the 1st person Possessive). e.g.:

(1) 'Exponent' is used here, because it is not a marker of gender in the sense that it distinguishes masculine or feminine form from the opposite.

(a) + Ref.:

Kàndé→h̄ (táa zóo) = [the Kande has arrived]

Kàmàrú→h̄ (táa fíi māsà) = [he will be better off in the
Cameroun]

Báucí→h̄ (táa fí) = [Bauci is better]

Sákkwátó→h̄ (táa káawóo) = [the river of Sokoto has high tides]

Láhàdì→h̄ (táa wúcée) = [the Sunday (he promises) has passed]

sháà bíyú→h̄ (táa yí) = [the twelve o'clock has come]

áahù→h̄ (táa ísá) = [the 1½d is sufficient]

màagé→h̄ (táa dáawóo) = [the cat has come back]

Note that nouns in these categories ending in -a/-aa are followed, regularly, by the →r form. e.g. -

(b) +Sh.Gen.: Làaràbá→f̄ Audù (taa) = [Audu's Laraba has ...]

Gǎánà→r̄ Afìrkà tá yámmá = [the Ghana of West Africa]

Ànàcà→r̄ Jíhàr gábàs = [Onitsha of Eastern Nigeria]

Néeja→r̄ Nàajéeriyàa = [the river Niger of Nigeria]

Tàláatà→r̄ sáatín jiyà = [Tuesday of last week]

sáafiyá→f̄ jiyà = [the morning of yesterday]

12.2.1.2.1.1 After an Indefinite or Interrogative Pronoun

The feminine forms of both the Indefinite and the Interrogative Pronouns are followed only by the →n form. e.g.:

Indefinite Pronoun:

+ Ref.: wáncè→h̄ (táa zóo) = [the such and such has arrived]

+Sh.Gen.: (yá cèe) wáncé→h̄ Audù (táa zóo)

[he said, such and such of Audu's has arrived]

+Sh.Pos.: (yá cèe) wáncè→h̄sà (táa zóo)

[he said, his such and such has come]

+ Sh.Dem.: (yá cèe) wáncè→n nán dái (táa zóo)
[he said, that such and such has come]

Interrogative Pronoun

+ Ref.: wàccé→n (ká gáníí) = [which one did you see]
+ Sh.Pos.: wàccé→nsù (ká gáníí) = [which of them did you see]

12.2.1.2.1.2 After a Compound Noun or Genitival Complex

In the case of Compound Noun I or II and the Long Genitival Complex, the form of the I.P.H.Q. is independent of the gender of the Cpd.Nn. or the Gen.Cx. itself, and seems to be correlated with the final component. A masculine final component is followed by a masculine I.P.H.Q.; a feminine final component is followed by a feminine I.P.H.Q. normally the →r form, but the →n form if the final component is one normally followed by an →n form as already described.
e.g.:

Compound Noun I.(a):

+ Ref.: hájìyáa-Láadi→n (táa ...) = [the hajiya-Ladi (has ...)]
+ Sh.Gen.: hájìyáa-Láadi→n Audù (taa..) = [Audu's hajiya-Ladi....]
+ Sh.Pos.: hájìyáa-Láadi→nkà (táa..) = [your hajiya-Ladi....]
+ Sh.Dem.: hájìyáa-Láadi→n nán (táa..) = [that hajiya-Ladi...]

Compound Noun I.(b):

+ Sh.Pos.: rìigáf-rúwá→nkà (taa..) = [your rain-coat is...]
úwár-gídá→nkà (táa..) = [your wife is/has....]

where the Compound Noun is followed by the →n form; but in the following the Compound Noun can be followed only by the →r form :-

+Sh.Pos.: kàrén-móotà→rkà (yáa...) = [your driver's mate is...]
 ítàacén-wútá→fkà (yaa..) = [your fire-wood is....]

Compound Noun II:

+Sh.Pos.: dùubà-gàrf→nsù = [their sanitary inspector]
+Sh.Gen.: hànà-sállà→r Áudù = [Audu's bowler hat]

Long Genitival Complex:

+ Ref.: tá Áudù→n = [the one belonging to Audu]
+ Sh.Dem.: tá Báucí→n nán = [that one made in Bauci]
+ Sh.Pos.⁽¹⁾: tá sáakà→rsà = [the one he uses for weaving]
+ Sh.Gen.: tá sáakà→r Áudù = [the one Audu uses for weaving]

12.2.1.2.1.3 After a Long Possessive or Relative Clause (a)

The feminine form of the Long Possessive and of the Relative Clause (a) is always followed by the →n form of Ref. and Sh.Dem., the only two Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers occurring after them. e.g.:

Long Possessive

+ Ref.: táakà→n = [yours]
+ Sh.Dem.: tàawá→n càh = [that one belonging to me]

Relative Clause (a)

+ Ref.: wàddà ká sání→n = [the one you know]
+ Sh.Dem.: wàddà ká sání→n nán = [that one which you know]

(1) The Sh.Pos. and Sh.Gen. can only follow a complex ending in a Dynamic Noun. cf. Ch.7 (7.10).

12.2.2.

ITEMS NOT MARKED FOR GENDER

The remaining items which occur only as Qualifier, are not marked for gender, viz:

Indeterminate Qualifier

Geminate Adjective

Adverbial Complex

Adverbial Phrase

Relative Clause (b)

These have the same shape whether they follow a masculine or a feminine Head. e.g.:

- (a) Hd. + Indt.Q.: Masc.: wáanè kàzáa (yáa zóo néemánkà)
Fem.: wáncè kàzáa (táa zóo néemánkà)
 [such and such came looking for you]
- (b) Hd. + Indt.Q.: Masc.: (mún gá) géeróo dámíi dámíi (à wàjé)
Fem.: (mún gá) màiwáa dámíi dámíi (à wàjé)
 [we saw millet in bundles outside]
- (c) Hd. + Adv.Cx.: Masc.: (wání) mùtúm dà jàakíi (yáa zóo néemánkà)
Fem.: (wátá) màcè dà jàakíi (táa zóo néemánkà)
 [some man/woman with a donkey came looking for you]
- (d) Hd. + Adv.Ph.: Masc.: (wání) mùtúm dàuké dà káayáa
Fem.: (wátá) màcè dàuké dà káayáa
 [some man/woman carrying a load]
- (e) Hd. + Rel (b): Masc.: (wání) mùtúm dà tá gáníi
Fem.: (wátá) màcè dà tá gáníi
 [some man/woman that she saw]

In these circumstances there are no grounds for treating them as masculine or feminine, and it is best to describe them as not entering into the system of gender agreement.

12.3 ITEMS OCCURRING BOTH AS QUALIFIER AND AS HEAD

12.3.1 ITEMS MARKED FOR GENDER

12.3.1.1. Unitary Adjective

(A) In the Unitary Adjective, the markers of gender are:

- (a) the Suffixes: -aa, -ee, -ii, -oo, and -uu being masculine suffixes when in contrast with the feminine suffixes: -iyaa, -niyaa, -aa, and -uwaa in pairs as follows:⁽¹⁾

	<u>SUFFIXES</u>		<u>E X A M P L E S</u>
	<u>Masc.</u>	<u>Fem.</u>	
<u>Agential Adjective:</u>	-ii	-iyáa	mátsóoràcìi/mátsóorácìyáa [coward]
<u>Participial Adjective:</u>	-ée	-iyáa	dàfáfée/dàfáffiyáa [cooked]

(1) I am indebted ultimately to Mr F.W. Parsons for the analysis given below.

	<u>SUFFIXES</u>		<u>E X A M P L E S</u>	
	<u>Masc.</u>	<u>Fem.</u>		
<u>Simple Adjective:</u>	-àa	-ìyáa	ìngármàa/ìngármìyáa	[burly]
		-nìyáa	màráayáa/màráinìyáa	[orphan]
	-íi	-áa	fárái / fàráa	[white]
	-ìi	-ìyáa	shúudíi / shúudìyáa	[blue]
	-èe	-ìyáa	gàjéerée/gàjéerìyáa	[short]
		-áa	gàjéerée/gàjéeráa	[short]
	-èe	-ìyáa	shéegèe / shèegìyáa	
				[illegitimate]
		-ùwáa	kànkánèe/kànkánùwáa	[small]
	-óo	-úwáa	dóogóo / dóogúwáa	[tall]
	-òo	-ùwáa	káatòo / káatùwáa	[big]
	-úu	-úwáa	gúntúu / gúntúwáa	[piece]
	-ùu	-ùwáa	gúrgùu / gúrgùwáa	[lame]

(B) There are, however, a number of Adjectives which are themselves unmarked for gender, the same form being used in both masculine and feminine agreements. They are of two sub-types:-

Sub-type B(i) includes:

bùtùlú = [ungrateful]
fíngí = [dishevelled fowl]

Sub-type B(ii) includes:

bàbbá = [big, elder, etc]
sáakárái = [feckless]
kàkkárfáa = [strong], and all the other derivative adjectives of this type, (kyàkkyáawáa, tàttáuráa, etc.).

As Qualifier

The gender of Unitary Adjective occurring as Qualifier is determined by the gender of the Head, as in the following examples, where the Unitary Adjective is in post-Head position; with a Noun as Head:

1. Unitary Adjectives with Markers of Gender:(a) Noun (Hd.) + Agt.Adj.:

Masc.: (wání) kàréé mátsòoràcìi (yáa wúcèe)

Fem.: (wátá) kàryáa mátsóoráciyáa (taa wucee)

[a nervous dog has passed by]

(b) Noun (Hd.) + Ptpl.Adj.:

Masc.: (mún gá wání) mùtúm tàbábbée

Fem.: (mún gá wátá) màcè tàbábbíyáa

[we saw a certain lunatic person]

(c) Noun (Hd.) + Simp.Adj.:

Masc.: (táa sàyí wání) kwáando sáabóo

Fem.: (táa sàyí wátá) gídáuníyáa sáabúwáa

[she has bought a new tin bowl]

2. Unitary Adjectives with no markers of gender

As Qualifier: occurring after a Head such as a Noun, e.g.:

Masc.: (wání) yáaròo sáakarái (yá yí tá kàdè-kàdè)

Fem.: (wátá) yáarínyàa sáakarái (tá yí tá kàdè-kàdè)

[a feckless boy/girl continued drumming uninterrupted]

Masc.: (táa sàyi) másákíi bàbbá
Fem.: (táa sàyi) kwáryáa bàbbá
 [she has bought a big working-gourd]

Where the Adjective occurs in pre-Head position, the Adjectival Link (Masculine →n, Feminine →r) as well as the Adjective has the same gender as the Head. e.g.:

- (a) Masc.: mágùjǐ→n dóokíi)
Fem.: mágùjǐyá→r góodíyáa) [a speedy horse/mare]
- (b) Masc.: kǐiwàtáccé→n dóokíi)
Fem.: kǐiwàtáccíyá→r góodíyáa) [a well-fed horse/mare]
- (c) Masc.: fàrí→n dóokíi)
Fem.: fàrá→r góodíyáa) [a white horse/mare]

In the case of Unitary Adjective type (B) (which are unmarked for gender) occurring in pre-Head position, while the Adjective itself does not vary, :-

- (a) the Adjectival Link has the same gender as the Head, in the case of type B(ii), e.g.:-

Masc.: bàbbá→n zàkàràa)
Fem.: bàbbá→r kàazáa) [a big cock/hen]

Masc.: sáakàrá→n yáaròo)
Fem.: sáakàrá→r yáarinyàa) [a feckless boy/girl]

Masc.: kàkkàrfá→n mùtúm)
Fem.: kàkkàrfá→r màcè) [a strong man/woman]

- (b) the Adjectival Link is -n with a feminine as well as with a masculine Head, in the case of type B(i), e.g.:-

Masc.: bütülú→ń zàkàràa)
Fem.: bütülú→ń kàazáa) [an ungrateful cock/hen]

Masc.: fíngí→ń zàkàràa)
Fem.: fíngí→ń kàazáa) [a dishevelled cock/hen]

In view of this, it is convenient to set up an →r/→n alternation in the feminine Adjectiveal Link, as in the case of the Genitive Link, and refer the two alternants as the →r form and →n form respectively.

As Head

Where the Unitary Adjective is in Head position, the form of the Adjective itself and the gender which it controls in other items in the NP is determined by the gender of the anaphor. Examples of Unitary Adjective which have markers of gender in Head position are the following, where the qualifier is underlined.:

- (a) Agt. Adj. (Hd.) + Simp. Adj.:

Masc.: (wání) mátšòràcìi kázáamíi (yáa wúcèe)
Fem.: (wátá) mátšóoráciyáa kàzámáá (táa wúcèe)
 [a dirty coward has passed by]

- (b) Ptpl. Adj. (Hd.) + Simp. Adj.:

Masc.: (wání) tàbábàbée tsóohóo (yáa zóo néemánkà)
Fem.: (wátá) tàbábàbíyáa tsóohúwáa (táa zóo néemánkà)
 [an old lunatic has come looking for you]

(c) Simp.Adj. (Hd.) + Simp.Adj.:Masc.: (wání) bàakóo dóogóo (yáa sàuká à gidán Báláa)Fem.: (wátá) bàakíwáa dóogúwáa (táa sàuká à gidán Báláa)

[a tall stranger has arrived in Bala's home]

Some examples of unmarked Unitary Adjectives in Head position, are the following:

(a) Hd. + Sh.Dem.: Masc.: tàttáurá→ń càn (yáa jíkú)Fem.: tàttáurá→é càn (táa jíkú)

[that hard one is well soaked]

(b) Hd. + Ref.: Masc.: bàbbá→ń (yáa fítá)Fem.: bàbbá→ř (táa fítá)

[the elder one has gone out]

(c) Hd.+Unit.Adj.: Masc.: (yáa sáwóo wání) fíngí káatòoFem.: (yáa sáwóo wátá) fíngí káatùwáa

[he has bought a large dishvelled one]

12.3.1.2 Adjectival Phrase

The gender of an Adjectival Phrase is the same as that of its initial Unitary Adjective; and its gender is marked by the suffix of that Adjective, as described in 12.3.1.1 (A) above. Adjectival Phrases having in initial position one of the unmarked Adjectives discussed in 12.3.1.1 (B) have common gender.

The gender of an Adjectival Phrase in Qualifier position, is controlled by that of the Head, e.g.

Noun (Hd.) + Adj.Phr.:

- (i) Masc.: hádáríi bákíi sídík (yáa gángámóo)
[a very black looking storm has started to move]
- (ii) Fem.: gùugúwàa gàagáarùmáa áinùn (táa táasóo)
[a very violent hurricane is approaching]
- (iii) Masc.: (yáa sàyí) líttáafíi sáabóo káw
[he has bought a brand new book]
- (iv) Fem.: (án báa shí) ríigáa káatùwáa dà gàské
[he has been given a very big gown]
- (v) Masc.: (yáa àrí) wání gídáa yàabàbbée rádáu
[he has borrowed a well-plastered house]
- (vi) Fem.: (yáa àrí) wátá góonáa káatùwáa kwárái
[he has borrowed a very big farm]

The gender of an Adjectival Phrase in Head position is controlled by that of the anaphor.

Hd. + Unit.Adj.:

- (i) Masc.: (wání) mátsooràcífí kwárái kàzáamfí (yáa wúcèe)
Fem.: (wátá) mátsoorácílyáa kwárái kàzáamáa (táa wúcèe)
[a dirty very cowardly man/woman has passed by]
- (ii) Masc.: (wání) tàbábbée túbúràn tsóohóo (yáa zóo néemánkà)
Fem.: (wátá) tàbábbíyáa túbúràn tsóohúwáa (táa zóo néemánkà)
[an old highly insane man/woman has come looking for you]
- (iii) Masc.: (wání) gàjéerée dúkús bàakóo (yáa shígóo)
Fem.: (wátá) gàjéeráa dúkús bàakúwáa (táa shígóo)
[a very short unfamiliar one (animal) has come in]

Adjectival Phrases with common gender can be illustrated by the following examples:-

- (a) As Qualifier, occurring after a Head such as a Noun; e.g.:-

Masc.: (wání) yáarò sáakárái dà gàské (yá yí tá kàdé-kàdé)

Fem.: (wátá) yáarínyàa sáakárái dà gàské (tá yí tá.....)

[a very feckless boy/girl continued drumming uninterruptedly]

- (b) As Head:

+ Lg.Gen.: Masc.: (yáa dínkà) bàbbá kwárái nà sīlīkīi

Fem.: (yáa dínkà) bàbbá kwárái tá sīlīkīi

[a very big silken one made to measure has been made for him]

+ Rel.: Masc.: kàkkárfáa áinùn wàndà ká sánīi (yáa bátà)

Fem.: kàkkárfáa áinùn wàddà ká sánīi (táa bátà)

12.3.1.3 Long Genitival Complex and Long Possessive

The marker of gender in the Long Genitival Complex is the Link element nám marking masculine gender, tá marking feminine gender, as in the following:

Masc.: (Hd. + ná...): wání gídáa ná Audù

[a house of Audu's]

Fem.: (Hd. + tá...): wátá góonáa tá Audù

[a farm of Audu's]

Similarly the marker of gender in the Long Possessive is the initial Link element náa-/nàa- marking masculine gender (e.g.:

náasà = [his], nàawá = [mine]), táa-/tàa- marking
feminine gender (e.g.: táasà = [his], tàawá = [mine]), as in:

Masc.: (Hd. + náa..): wání líttáafíi nàawá
[a book of mine]

Fem.: (Hd. + táa..): wátá gáfákàa tàawá
[a book-case of mine]

Here, as always where the Long Genitival Complex and Long Possessive are in Qualifier position, the gender is controlled by the gender of the Head.

Where they are in Head position, their gender is controlled by the gender of the anaphor. e.g.:

Hd. + Adj.Ph.:

(a) Lg.Gen.:

(i) Masc.: (yáa dǎukí) ná háyàa àmíntáccée kwárái

Fem.: (yáa dǎukí) tá háyàa àmíntáccíyáa kwárái

[he took a very reliable one that was
for hire]

(ii) Masc.: (náa gá) ná sáyárwáa kyàkkyáawáa áinùn

Fem.: (náa gá) tá sáyárwáa kyàkkyáawáa áinùn

[I have seen a very good one that is
for sale]

(b) Lg.Pos.:

(i) Masc.: nàawá sáabóo fíl (yáa bátà)

Fem.: tàawá sáabuwáa fíl (táa bátà)

[mine a brand new one (is missing)]

- (ii) Masc.: (mún gá) náatà rínánnée shár
Fem.: (mún gá) táatà rínánníyáa shár
 [we saw her's which is well dyed]

For the form of I.P.H.Q.'s after Long Genitival Complex and Long Possessive see 12.2.1.2.1.2 and 3.

12.3.1.4 Relative Clause

The gender of Relative Clause (a) is marked by the introductory word, Wanda and wadda marking masculine and feminine gender respectively. e.g.:

- Masc.: wándà yá sán̄i (yáa kóomàa gàrínsù)
Fem.: wáddà yá sán̄i (táa kóomàa gàrínsù)
 [the man/woman he knows (has gone back to his/her country)]

Where Relative Clause (a) is in Qualifier position, its gender is controlled by the gender of the Head. e.g.:

- (i) Masc.: gàarúu wándà Audù yá gínàa bàará (yáa fáad̄i)
Fem.: kátángáa wáddà Audù yá gínàa bàará (táa fáad̄i)
 [the wall which Audu built last year (has fallen down)]
- (ii) Masc.: kwáando wándà ká gán̄i j̄iyà (ná Láad̄i née)
Fem.: ḡidáun̄iyáa wáddà ká gán̄i j̄iyà (tá Láadi cée)
 [the bowl which you saw yesterday belongs to Ladi]

Where Relative Clause (a) is in Head position, the form of the introductory word and the gender it controls in other items is controlled by the gender of the anaphor. e.g.:

Hd. + Unit. Adj. :

- (i) Masc.: wáǎdà ká gáníi tsóohóo (máalámín Audù née)
Fem.: wáǎdà ká gáníi tsóohúwáa (maálámár Audù cée)
 [the man/woman you saw ~~who~~ is old is Audu's teacher]
- (ii) Masc.: wáǎdà tá sàyáa zàanánnee (yáa húujèe)
Fem.: wáǎdà tá sàyáa zàanánniyáa (táa húujèe)
 [the decorated one which she bought has got a hole in it]

For the form of the I.P.H.Q.'s after Rel. (a) see 12.2.1.2.1.3.

12.3.1.5

Specifier

The Near Demonstrative is the only Specifier unmarked for gender; discussion on it, therefore, is deferred till 12.3.2.1.

In the case of the Indefinite Specifier (masc. wání, fem. wátá) and the Long Demonstrative (Far) (masc. wáncàn/wáncán⁽¹⁾, fem. wáccàn / wàccán / wàccán⁽¹⁾), it is simplest to treat the whole item as the marker of gender. (It would be possible to abstract a stem wá-/wà-, with no readily assignable meaning, and a suffix, with a further locative element cán in the case of the Far Demonstrative; but there does not seem to be any advantage in this, particularly in view of the variation in the tone of wa-.)

When these items occur as Qualifier, they normally precede the Head; nevertheless their gender is always controlled by the gender of the Head. e.g.:

(1) For the tonal variation see Appendix B.

- (i) Lg.Dem. + Nn.(Hd.): Masc.: wáncàh gidáa (ná wàayée?)
[whose house is that?]
Fem.: wáccàh góonáa (tá wàayee?)
[whose farm is that?]
Masc.: (jèeká háu) wáncàh dóokii
[go and ride that horse]
Fem.: (jèeká háu) wáccàh móotàa
[go and ride that car]

(ii) Indef.Spec. + Nn.(Hd.):

- Masc.: wání mùtúm (yáa zóo mákárántármù yáù)
[a certain man came to our school today]
Fem.: wátá màcè (táa zóo mákárántármù yáù)
[a certain woman came to our school today]

When in Head position, the form of the Indefinite Specifier and of the Long Demonstrative (Far) and the gender which it controls in other items in the NP is determined by the gender of the anaphor. e.g.:

(i) Lg.Dem. (Hd.) + Lg.Gen.:

- Masc.: (bàaní) wáncàh ná báayánkà
Fem.: (bàaní) wáccàh tá báayánkà
[give me that one behind you]
Masc.: wáncàh ná kàrkáshii (yáa nùuná)
Fem.: wáccàh tá kàrkáshii (táa nùuná)
[that one underneath is ripe]

(ii) Indef.Spec.(Hd.) + Adj.P.

- Masc.: (yáa báanì) wání sáabóo kaw
Fem.: (yáa báanì) wátá sáabúwáa káw
[he has given me another brand new one]

Masc.: wání nùunánnée dà shíi (yáa fáadóo
Fem.: wátá nùunánníyáa dà ítá (táa fáadóo)
 [another nicely ripe one has fallen]

12.3.2.

ITEMS NOT MARKED FOR GENDER

The items which have no overt markers of gender have been listed in 12.2 above. As regards gender, the main features common to them all are the following:-

- (i) When in Qualifier position, they are always invariable whether the Head is masculine or feminine. e.g.:-

With a Noun Head:

- (a) + Qt.1: Masc.: mùtúm dáyá = [one man]
Fem.: màcè dáyá = [one woman]
- (b) + Adj.Cx.: Masc.: mùtúm mài kíbàa = [a fat man]
Fem.: màcè mài kíbàa = [a fat woman]
- (c) + Adv.Cx.: Masc.: mùtúm dà káayáa = [a man with luggage]
Fem.: màcè dà káayáa = [a woman with luggage]
- (d) + Adv.Cl.: Masc.: mùtúm nán tsàyé = [a man there standing]
Fem.: màcè nán tsàyé = [a woman there standing]
- (e) + Adv.Ph.: Masc.: mùtúm kúsá dà múu = [a man near us]
Fem.: màcè kúsá dà múu = [a woman near us]

- (ii) When in Head position, they are of three categories on the basis of the agreement which they control in other items, viz:

- (a) Those which control either masculine or feminine agreement depending on the gender of the anaphor. These are the following:-

Quantifiers
Adjectival Complex
Isolator.

The following are a few examples:-

Qt.1 (Hd.) + Unst.Adj.:

Masc.: (gùdàa) dáyá fárlí (yáa bátà)

Fem.: (gùdàa) dáyá fáráa (táa bátà)

[one white one is missing]

Masc.: (yáa d'aukí) dáyá dóogóo

Fem.: (yáa d'aukí) dáyá dóogúwáa

[he has taken one long one]

Adj.Cx. (Hd.) + Lg.Gen.:

Masc.: mài kíbàh nán ná gidán Audù (yáa sánsù)

Fem.: mài kíbàh nán tá gidán Audù (táa sánsù)

[that fat one in Audu's house knows them]

Masc.: (án sái dà) mài zàané ná áláwáyyò

Fem.: (án sái dà) mài zàané tá áláwáyyò

[a decorated one of cotton material has been sold]

Isol. (Hd.) + Ref.:

Masc.: dáyá→h (yáa zóo)

Fem.: dáyá→r (táa zóo)

(the other one has come]

- (b) Those which always control feminine agreement outside the NP, although no statement can be made about their controlling gender within the NP; this is because all qualifiers that combine with them are unmarked as regards gender, or contain no initial -n element which can be assigned to either masculine or feminine agreement. These are the following:

Simple Adverb

Adverbial Compound

Adverbial Cluster

e.g.:

Simp. Adv.: áí bàdí→h dà yákèè àlkáwàríí (záa tà zóo nèe)
[well, the next year he is promising he is coming]

Adv. Cpd.: gàbáń àlkáalí→h dà báa yàa sòn zúwàa (sáí án kái shí)
[before the court, which he dislikes, he must be taken]

Adv. Cl.: cáń kàsà-kàsà→h dà yá kóomàa (tǎa fí nǎn sǎnyíí)
[a little way down whither he has chosen to return is colder than here]

- (c) Ideophone, which apparently always controls masculine gender within the NP, although outside the NP it controls feminine gender. e.g.:

Hd. + Ref. + Rel.(b):

kàsàké→h dà yá kàn yí (táa dàamée nǐ)
[the way he sits so solemnly is bothering me]
hàyyàa-hàyyàa→n dà sùkèè yíí (táa hánàa shí báccíí)
[the noise they are making (has kept him awake)]

12.3.2.1 The Long Demonstrative (Near) is not marked for gender, having only one form (apart from the tonal variations described in Appendix B), with no variation in masculine and feminine contexts. e.g.:

Masc.: wánnàn líttáafíi = [this book]

Fem.: wánnàn wàsíikàa = [this letter]

When in Head position, however, it can control either masculine or feminine agreement. e.g.:

Head + Ref.(a):

Masc.: wánnàn wàndà ká kèe gáníi

Fem.: wánnan wàddà ká kèe gáníi

[this one which you are looking at]

Accordingly, it is appropriate to distinguish two homonymous forms wannan (masc.) and wannan (fem.), the former used when the reference is to a masculine noun, the latter with reference to a feminine noun, or alternatively to treat wannan as having common gender, like the nouns listed in (B) in Appendix C.

12.4 Conclusion

It has been shown that, of the items occurring in the NP, some have markers of gender, others do not; some have two distinct singular forms correlating respectively with a male or a female referent, or a masculine or a feminine anaphor; others have only one singular form correlating both with a male or a female referent, or a masculine or feminine anaphor; while a third group (three

of the four I.P.H.Q.'s) have three singular forms one correlating with male/masculine and the other two (in complementary distribution) correlating with female/feminine.

In so far as items are marked for gender, the gender of the Head always controls agreement within the Simple NP, the gender of the Qualifiers being controlled by that of the Head. The gender of the Head is, in the case of most Nouns, a feature of the Noun itself, while in the case of other items it is determined by the gender of the referent or anaphor, though there are special rules covering the gender of Compound Nouns. Only in the case of the I.P.H.Q.'s after Cpd.Nn I or II or after Lg.Gen. Head is the gender of the Qualifier independent of the gender of Head itself, but, apparently, correlated with the gender of the final component of the Head.

Of the items not marked for gender, some (Disj.(a), Lg.Dem.(Near), Is., Qt., Adj.Cx.) can control either masculine or feminine agreement depending on the gender of the referent or anaphor. Others (Simp.Adv., Adv.Cpd., Adv.Cl.) control feminine agreement, while Ideo. controls masculine agreement within the NP but feminine agreement outside the NP.

CHAPTER 13

THE OPERATION OF NUMBER WITHIN THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The rules for the operation of Number agreement within the Nominal Phrase are very similar to those for the operation of gender agreement; and the main features will be discussed in general terms, a detailed account being given only of the distinctive features. Items occurring in the NP can again be classified according to whether they are marked for Number or not, and according to whether they occur only as Head or as Qualifier, or can occur as either, as shown in the table below:

Table 10

<u>Function of the item</u>	<u>Items with Markers of Number</u>	<u>Items without Markers of Number</u>
<u>Only As Head</u>	The Majority of Nouns(i) All Pronouns Compound Noun (I)(a) (bii)	Some Nouns (ii) The Majority of Compound Nouns
<u>Only As Qualifier</u>	Interrogative Specifier Diminutive Referential Short Possessive Short Genitival Complex Short Demonstrative (Far)	Geminate Adjective Indeterminate Qualifier Adverbial Complex Adverbial Phrase Relative Clause (b) Short Demonstrative (Near)

<u>Either</u> <u>As</u> <u>Head</u> <u>or</u> <u>as Qualifier</u>	Indefinite Specifier Long Demonstrative Long Possessive Long Genitival Complex Unitary Adjective Adjectival Phrase Adjectival Complex Relative Clause (a)	Isolator Quantifier Ideophone Simple Adverb Adverbial Compound Adverbial Cluster
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The main points of contrast with the situation as regards gender are as follows:

- (a) The breakdown of Noun and Compound Noun according to whether or not they are marked for number, differs from their breakdown as regards gender.
- (b) All Pronouns can be regarded as marked for Number, since there is a clear cut distinction between singular Pronouns on the one hand and plural Pronouns on the other.
- (c) Both Long Demonstratives are marked for Number.
- (d) Adjectival Complex, although not marked for gender, is marked for Number; forms with mài as initial element entering into singular agreement, while those with màasú as initial element enter into Plural agreement.

The details of the contrast between singular and Plural forms of marked items are, in most cases, given in

chapter 2, and need not be set out here. For Nouns and Adjectives see 13.2 below.

13.1 In general, Number-marked items functioning as Head control either Singular or Plural agreement within the Nominal Phrase, as the case may be. Only in the case of certain Nouns does the same Head control sometimes Singular and sometimes Plural agreement. Items functioning as Head, which are not marked for Number, apart from Nouns, normally control singular agreement, the only exceptions being mentioned in 13.3 below.

As a corollary to the above, all Number-marked items functioning as Qualifier have the same Number as the Head.

13.2 Nouns and Unitary Adjectives

The relationship between singular and plural forms of Nouns and Adjectives is so multifarious that it cannot be dealt with here, and it is sufficient to say that the great majority of Nouns and Adjectives have two distinct forms, one Singular and one Plural; the plural form normally being marked by a different suffix with or without a different tone pattern and/or some type of reduplication. It is only necessary to deal here with a small number of Nouns which are not marked for Number. :-

13.2.1 Nouns not marked for Number

There is a small number of Nouns which may be said to have 'Common Number', having only one form but controlling

Singular and sometimes Plural agreements. These are:

(a) Collective Nouns such as:

jámá'aa	=	[group of people]
kúdfi	=	[money]
àyàbà	=	[bananas]
tùmáatùr	=	[tomatoes]

and:

(b) Mass Nouns, such as:

mádáráa	=	[milk]
náamàa	=	[meat]
rúwáa	=	[water]

Mass Nouns control only Singular agreement, while Collective Nouns can control Singular or Plural agreement, depending on the anaphor. e.g.:

Singular Agreement

(a) Collective Noun + Adjectival Complex:

jámá'aa mài yáwàa (táa tàarú à gídán Báláa)
 [a lot of people have gathered in Bala's house]
 (yáa sáyóo) tùmáatùr mài yáwàa
 [he has bought a lot of tomatoes]

(b) Mass Noun + Unitary Adjective:

mádáráa tàfàsásshíyáa = [hot milk]
 náamàa sòoyáiyée = [roast meat]
 kúnúu tsìnkákkée = [watery gruel]

Plural Agreement(a) Collective Noun + Adjectival Complex:

(yáa táarà) jàamá'aa màasú yáwàa (kóo ìnáa cíkín gàrín)
 [he has gathered a lot of groups of people everywhere
 in the town]

(b) Collective Noun + Quantifier 1 + Unitary Adjective:

àlbásàa gùdàa biyú fàràarée
 [two white onions]

àyàbà sáalàa biyú dányúu
 [two raw bananas]

kúfíi fám biyú sàabàbbíi
 [money two pounds all new]

13.3

Items not marked for Number

13.3.1

As Head

A list of all the items for Number has been given in Table 10 above, and the Number which they control when in Head position has been described in 13.1 above. There are, however, certain special rules applying to the Compound Noun and the Quantifiers. viz:-

13.3.1.1 Compound Noun

While the great majority of Compound Nouns are not marked for Number, a small group under Compound Noun I are so marked. :

Compound Noun I

Under Compound Noun I, sub-types (a) and (bii), which have a Proper and a Concrete Noun respectively as the core

of the compound, are marked for Number in the sense that these can be either in singular or in plural form and, consequently, the compound noun itself is either singular or plural, controlling either singular or plural agreements as the case may be. e.g.:-

(i) Sub-type (a) + Unit.Adj.:

Sing. Agreement: máalàm-Audù máhàddàcìi (yáa zóo)
[Malam Audu the reciter has arrived]

Pl. Agreement: sú-máalàm⁽¹⁾-Audù máhàddàtáa (sún zóo)
[Malam Audu the reciter and company
have arrived]

(ii) Sub-type (bii) + Unit.Adj.:

Sing. Agreement: rìligár-rúwáa sáabúwáa (táa bátà)
[a new rain-coat is missing]

Pl. Agreement: rìigúnàn-rúwáa sàabàbbíi (sún bátà)
[new rain-coats are missing]

The remaining sub-types of Compound Noun I, which have either Dynamic or Abstract Nouns as the core of the compound, are not marked for Number, and control only singular agreement in other items within the NP. e.g.:

(i) Cpd.Nn. I with Dyn.NN. core:

+ Unit.Adj.: tàarín-shíikàa múugùu (yaa....)
[a serious whooping-cough is/has....]

(1) It is arguable, however, that sú máalàm Audù is not strictly a plural form of máalàm Audù, but a special type of pluralised NP consisting of sú + one of a number of different types of NP with the meaning:- 'X and others like him/it'.

(ii) Cpd.Nn.I with Abst.Nn. core:

+ Adj.Cx.: táurín-káì mài tsánáníi (yáa...)

[strong stubbornness is]

Compound Nouns II and III

Compound Nouns II and III are not marked for Number, since each of them has only one form which is invariable.

But:-

- (i) Compound Noun II can control either singular or plural concord, depending on whether one or more items are referred to. e.g.:

Singular Cpd. Nn.II + Unit. Adj.:

Sub-type (a): bàr-ní-dà-múugù búuléelèe (yáa fítóo mäsà)

[he has got a big carbuncle on his face]

" (b) fàadfi-kà-mútù sáabóo (yáa fáshèe)

[a new china-ware has got broken]

" (c) (yáa sàamí) rìgàa-káfí hàdádédée

[he has got a well-made preventative]

" (d) (yáa sàyí) wání báa-kàa-zúwàa-kòogíi fáríi

[he has bought a white unwashable cloth]

Plural Cpd. Nn. II + Unit. Adj.:

Sub-type (a): bàr-ní-dà-múugù búuláa-bùulàa (sún fítóo mäsà)

[he has got big carbuncles on his face]

" (b) fàadfi-kà-mútù sàabàbbíi (sún fáshèe)

[new china-ware have all got broken]

Sub-type (c): (sún sàssàamí) rīgàa-káfi hàdàdǎfúu
[they have got well prepared preventatives]

" (d) (yáa sàyi) wádánsú báa-kàa-zúwàa-kòogíi fàràarée
[he has bought some white not washable material]

(ii) Compound Noun III, on the other hand, controls only singular concord in all the items that follow or precede it; in other words it is always singular. e.g.:-

Cpd.Nn. III + Adj. Ph.:

(a) fíi-dà-sáartsè kóorèe fátàu (dúk yáa fírfitóo à iyaakar
goonar)

[nicely green fii-da-sartse plants have come out on
the sides of the farm]

(b) (yáa sháafà) kyàl-kyàl-bánzá sáabóo káw (à sóoràayén dúkà)
[he has plastered all the rooms with new shining-plaster]

13.3.1.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are not marked for number and in general they all control only Plural agreement. e.g:

(a) Qt.1 + Unit.Adj.: gùdàa bíyú fàràarée (sún bátà)
[two white ones are missing]

(b) Qt.2 + Unit.Adj.: ('yán) kàdán fàràarée (sún bátà)
[a few white ones have got lost]
dà yáwàa bàakíi (sún bátà)
[a lot (of them) who are strangers
have got lost]

There are two exceptions to this rule. viz.:

- (a) (gūdāa) dāyā = [one], can naturally control only singular agreement. e.g:

(i) + Unt. Adj.: gùdàa dáyá fáríi (yáa ísó)
[one white one has arrived]

(ii) + Lg.Gen.: gùdāa dāyá tá Audù (taa iso)
[one which belongs to Audu has arrived]

- (b) kadan can control singular agreement where the anaphor is a Mass Noun. e.g:

+ Unt. Adj.: yáa sàyí dǎn kǎdǎn nùunánnee (e.g. tumaatur)
[ha has bought a small quantity, ripe]

'yár kàdán tàfàsásshíyáa (yá káawóo) (e.g. mádaráa)
[he has brought a small amount, boiled]

13.3.2

As Qualifier

When in Qualifier position, the items unmarked for Number are invariable whether the Head is singular or plural. e.g:

- (a) Hd.+Indet.Q.: Sing.: littáafii kàzáa =[such and such a book]
Pl.: littàttáfái kàzáa =[so many books]

- (b) Hd.+Adv.Cx.: Sing.: bàakóo dàgà Káńò =[stranger from Kano]
Pl.: bàakíi dàgà Káńò =[strangers from Kano]
- (c) Hd.+Rel.(b): Sing.: kíḍàa dà ká jí =[drumming that you heard]
Pl.: kàḍé-kàḍé dà ká jí =[drummings that you
heard]

13.3.2.1 All three types of Quantifier normally follow a plural Head. e.g:

- Hd. + Qt.1: dáwáakíi gùḍáa góomà = [ten horses]
Hd. + Qt.2: 'yán dáwáakíi kàḍán = [a few horses]
Hd. + Qt.3: dáwáakíi úkù-úkù = [three horses each]

But there are two obvious exceptions, viz.:

- (a) dáyá and gùḍáa dáyá = [one] can follow only a singular Head.

e.g: ḍóokíi (gùḍáa) dáyá = [one horse],

but not:- *dáwáakíi (gùḍáa) dáyá

- (b) The Quantifiers can follow some items not marked for Number, such as the Collective or Mass nouns, which never nevertheless can control singular Number outside the NP; in this case they may be said to occur after a singular Head. e.g:

(i) Collective Nn. + Qt.2: jàamá'aa dà yáwàa (táa/sún tàarú)
[a lot of people (have gathered)]

(ii) Mass Nn. + Qt.1: fúráa kwáryáa bíyú (táa ísá)
[two bowls of gruel is enough]

There are, however, certain cases where Quantifier 1 occurs after a singular Head,

(a) with specialized meaning; e.g:

(i) sárkíi góomà (ta ganii) = [she (is so old that she)
has lived through the
reign of ten kings]

(ii) (yáa sàyi) jàakíi góomà = [ha has bought ten donkey-
loads]

(b) or with special overtones of great quantity. e.g:

dóokíi góomà (née à tírkènsà) =
[there are as many as ten horses in his stable]

13.4

Conclusion

As in the case of gender agreement, some items occurring in the NP are marked for Number, others are not. In so far as items are marked for Number, the Number in Qualifiers is controlled by the Number of the Head, though certain items in Head position can control either singular or plural agreement.

Items not marked for Number normally control singular agreement, though there is variation in the case of Compound Nouns and Quantifiers.

CHAPTER 14

INTERRUPTIBILITY OF THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The for^egoing chapters have been concerned with the types of item that can occur in the Simple Nominal Phrase and the relationships between them. This chapter considers the nexus between the items within the Nominal Phrase, i.e. to what extent and in what positions other extraneous items can occur within the Nominal Phrase.

So far as can be discovered, the only items which can occur within the Nominal Phrase, apart from those discussed in the previous chapters, are:

- (a) the Stabilizer, Masc. nee, Fem. cee (with polar tone, i.e. with tone opposite to the tone of the preceding syllable) = [is/was/are/were etc.], which sometimes seems to be little more than an emphasising particle; and
- (b) the six Modal Particles, fá, k^ho, máa, k^ham, kú^hmá, dá^hi, and k^hu^hwá/kwà. It is impossible to give a precise account of their meaning, but the glosses given with the examples below give some indication of this.

Both the Stabilizer and the Modal Particles are enclitic, i.e. they follow an item to which they refer, and ^{neither} ~~none~~ of them can occur in the initial position. All can occur at the end of an NP, but since we are here concerned with the interruptibility of the NP, this need not be discussed further. They never occur before the Head, i.e. not between the Pre-Head Qualifiers, and not between the pre-Head Qualifiers and the Head.

14.1 Thus the occurrence of both the Stabilizer and the Modal Particles is only in the post-Head segment (apart from the special cases described in 14.2 below), and can be summarised as follows:

- (a) In an NP with a Discontinuous Qualifier, both the Stabilizer and the Modal Particles can occur either immediately after the Head or after the final element of the Discontinuous Qualifier. e.g:

(i) Immediately after the Head:

Stab.: wání kàráín yáarò née kwárái
(ya kaawoo)

[it is a certain very small boy
who has brought (it)]

Part.: wání kàrámin yáarò kò kwárái
(yáa wúcèe)

[indeed, a certain very small boy
has passed by]

(ii) After the final element of the Discontinuous
Qualifier:

Stab.: wání kàrámin yáarò kwárái nèe
(yá káawóo)

[it is a certain very small boy
who brought (it)]

Part.¹: wání kàrámin yáarò kwárái kò
(yáa wúcèe)

[indeed, a certain very small boy
has passed by]

- (b) Where the Head is followed by an Immediate Post-Head Qualifier, they can, naturally, only occur after the I.P.H.Q.. Again, where an Isolator or a Possessive occurs anywhere in the Pre-Head segment, they can only

occur after the post-Head Referential, which necessarily follows the Head. e.g.:

(1) Hd. + I.P.H.Q.

- (i) Hd.+Ref.+Stab.: yáarò→h née
[it is the boy.....]
- (ii) Hd. +Sh.Dem.+Stab.: yáarò→h cáh née
[it is that boy....]
- (iii) Hd.+Sh.Pos.+Stab.: yáarò→h kà née.....
[it is your servant
- (iv) Hd.+Sh.Gen.+Stab.: yáarò→h Audù née
[it is Audu's servant.....]

- (2) Iso. + Hd. + Ref. + Stab.: dáyá yáarò→h née
[it is the other boy.....]

- (3) Pos. + Hd. + Ref. + Stab.: náakà yáarò→h née
[it is your son.....]

In any of these examples the Stabilizer could be replaced by a Modal Particle.¹

- (c) Where the Head is followed by any qualifier other than the I.P.H.Q., they can both occur either immediately after the Head (and so before the pre-Head Qualifier) or at the end of the NP. e.g.:-

- (i) Spec.+Hd.¹ + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Stab.+Qt.1} \\ \text{Qt.1+Stab.} \end{array} \right\}$: wání líttáafii née gùdàa dáyá

or:

wání líttáafii gùdàa dáyá née
[it is a certain one book]

(a) Hd.+Sh.Gen.+Unit.Adj.+ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i)Stab.} \\ \text{(ii)Part.} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Adj.Cx.} :$

(i) rīgá→f sīlīkīi fārāa cèe mài áikīi (tá jíkèe)
[it is a white silken gown, an embroidered one,
got wet]

(ii) rīgá→f sīlīkīi fārāa kām mài áikīi (táa jíkèe)
[admittedly, the white silken gown, which is
embroidered, has got wet]

(b) Hd.+Sh.Gen.+ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i)Stab.} \\ \text{(ii)Part.} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Unit.Adj.+Adj.Cx.}$

(i) rīgá→f sīlīkīi cèe fārāa mài áikīi (tá jíkèe)
[it is a silken gown; a white and embroidered
one, that got wet]

(ii) rīgá→f sīlīkīi kām fārāa mài áikīi (táa jíkèe)
[admittedly, a silken gown, which is white
and embroidered, has got wet]

14.2 In addition to the above, the Modal Particles, but not the Stabilizer, can also occur between the component elements of the following items, provided these items are in Head position:-

Qt.1, (where it is accompanied by its Enumerator)
Lg.Gen.
Adj.Ph.
Adj.Cx.
Rel.(a)
Adv.Cl.

e.g.:-

Qt.1: gùdàa fá góomà (yá áikóo dà súu)
[as far as I know, he sent in ten]

Lg.Gen: tá kòo sīlīkīi (yá cèe zái sàyáa)
[indeed it is a silken one that he said
he would buy]

Adj.Ph.: (mún gá) kyàkkyáawáa kùwá áinùh
[certainly, we have seen a very good one]

Adj.Cx.: màasú kàm ámíncīi (yá sáabà sáyòowáa)
[admittedly, they were good those which he
used to buy]

Rel.(a): wádàndà kúmà yá áikóo dà súu (sūn bátà)
[and, to make matters worse, those which
he has sent are missing]

Adv.Cl.: cán fá kàrkáshīi (táa yí rùmáa)
[right under it, I am warning you, is damp]

14.3 A Model Particle and the Stabilizer can co-occur in the same NP, but in that case the Particle normally occurs somewhere after the Stabilizer, otherwise the rules given in 14.1.2 above apply. e.g.:-

- (i) sháanú→h Audù née kàm ná tàatsáa (súkà shīgá góonâr)
[it was certainly Audu's milking cows which entered
the farm]

where they co-occur continuously between the Short and the Long Genitival Complexes; or

- (ii) sháanú→h Audù née ná tàatsáa fá fàràarée (súkà shīgá góonâr)
[it was Audu's milking cows, which are white, which indeed
entered the farm]

where they are separated by the Long Genitival Complex, with another optional qualifier, the Unt.Adj., following.

14.4 Thus, there is fairly close nexus between the items in the Nominal Phrase, the Stabilizer and Modal Particles being the only items which can break the continuity of the NP as described in the previous chapters. And even these can only occur at certain specific points, namely, never before the Head and only between the Head and a non-immediate post-Head qualifier, or between any two post-Head qualifiers, or, in certain cases, between the component elements of the Head itself or of a Discontinuous Qualifier.³

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing chapters, it has been shown that the Simple Nominal Phrase in Hausa can be analysed in terms of a Head and Qualifiers. Of the various types of item found in the Simple NP, some can function only as Head, some only as Qualifier, and some both as Head and as Qualifier, and it is convenient to make a further distinction between Adverbial and Non-Adverbial items.

The Head is the only obligatory element in the structure of the Simple NP, and the presence of one or more Qualifiers is optional. Every Simple NP, therefore, consists of at least the Head; and various types of Simple NP can be differentiated by reference to the type of item occurring in Head position.

The Qualifiers are of two main types, pre-Head and post-Head Qualifiers, referring to the position in any given NP in which they occur. Further sub-division of post-Head Qualifiers can be made on the basis of whether the Qualifiers can only occur immediately after the Head or can follow other Qualifier, as well as by reference to whether they are Adverbial or Non-Adverbial. The pre-Head Qualifiers are all Non-Adverbial.

On the basis of the number of different types of Qualifier with which they can combine, the items occurring as Head can be variously categorised as readily combinable, non-combinable, or as having high, relatively high, relatively low, or low combinability.

In the same way, the pre-Head Qualifiers can be categorised as having high, moderate, or low combinability, on the basis of the number of different types of item in Head position with which they can combine. The post-Head Qualifiers can similarly be categorised as being readily combinable, or as having high, relatively high, moderate, realatively low, low, or very low combinability, although the boundaries between these categories are not clear-cut.

In general, post-Head Qualifiers occur much more freely after a Non-Adverbial than after an Adverbial Head. In fact, in no case are there more than four Non-Adverbial Qualifiers with which an Adverbial Head can combine; and the combination of Adverbial Qualifier with Adverbial Head is quite impossible.

On the other hand, the co-occurrence rules for Qualifiers are somewhat different. Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can co-occur readily with other Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, and Adverbial Qualifiers can co-occur with other Adverbial Qualifiers though with some important qualifications, but the co-occurrence of an Adverbial with a Non-Adverbial Qualifier is relatively rare.

Where there is an accumulation of Qualifiers, whether in pre-Head or in post-Head position, the maximum number of Qualifiers in either position in any given Simple NP is normally four;[while pre-Head Qualifiers are all Non-Adverbial, accumulated post-Head Qualifiers can be either all Adverbial, or all Non-Adverbial, or else a mixture of the two.] There is also a consistent pattern of sequential order in which the Qualifiers normally co-occur, and which applies equally whether there are two, three, or the maximum of four qualifiers in succession.

Accumulation of pre-Head Qualifiers and post-Head Qualifiers in the same NP is also possible (but with some important co-occurrence restrictions in the case of some Qualifiers such as the Long Possessives,

Long Demonstratives and Isolator, and certain Adverbial Qualifiers) and the maximum number of Qualifiers of either type is four. Thus the longest Simple NP in terms of its constituent elements would be one containing four pre-Head Qualifiers, the Head, and four post-Head Qualifiers.

There are two distinctive features in the case of a Dynamic Noun Head, namely:

- (a) the Adverbial Qualifiers occur and co-occur much more freely after it than they do after any other type of Head, and
- (b) a clause other than a Relative Clause can occur after it but not after any other type of Head.

As regards gender agreement, some items occurring in the Simple NP have markers of gender, others do not. In so far as items are marked for gender, the gender of the Head always controls agreement within the NP, the gender of Qualifiers being controlled by that of the Head. After a Compound Noun Head, however, the gender of the Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers is, apparently, independent of the gender of the Head itself, but correlated with the gender of the final component element of the Head.

The gender of the Head is, in the case of most nouns, a feature of the noun itself, while in the case of other items marked for gender it is determined by the gender of the referent or of the anaphor, though there are special rules covering the gender of Compound Nouns.

Of the items not marked for gender functioning as Head, some can control either masculine or feminine agreement depending on the gender of the referent or of the anaphore, others control feminine agreement only, while Ideophones control masculine agreement within the NP but feminine agreement outside the NP.

The situation as regards Number agreement is comparable. Some items are marked for Number, others are not, and the Number in the Qualifiers is controlled by the Number of the Head, although there are certain items which, functioning as Head, can control either singular or plural agreement. Items not marked for Number normally control singular agreement, but there is variation to this rule in the case of Compound Nouns and Quantifiers.

As regards the unity of the Simple NP, there is fairly close nexus between the constituent elements, the Stabilizer and Modal Particles being the only two extraneous items which can break the continuity of the Simple NP. Even these can only occur at certain specific points (other than after the final component in the NP), namely between the Head and a non-immediate post-Head qualifier, or between any two post-Head qualifiers, or, in certain cases, between the component elements of the Head itself or of a Discontinuous Qualifier, but never before the Head.

In general, it can be said that, analysis in terms of a Head and of pre-Head and post-Head Qualifiers of various kinds facilitates a coherent account of the Simple Nominal Phrase in Hausa, and of its constituent elements and their grammatical relationship to one another.

APPENDIX A

IDEOPHONES

The following list, though not exhaustive, includes the great majority of Hausa ideophones in regular use. The classification is based mainly on external behaviour, as explained after the list, but it is a convenient basis for the description of the behaviour of ideophone within the Simple Nominal Phrase. Within each main category, individual items are grouped according to their phonological feature.

R indicates that the structure involves total reduplication, the second half being identical with the first half, apart from the normal assimilation of a nasal to the following consonant. Where the two halves of such reduplicated consonants are separated by a hyphen, there is normally the possibility of repetition of the basic element a number of times, e.g: fàl-fàl-fàl-fàl, or tìnkís-tìnkís-tìnkís-tìnkís, etc.¹ This does not, however, apply to Ideophones of type A.I.(a) (10) where the tones of the two items are different.

(R) indicates that there is partial (but not total) reduplication.

The sign (*) implies that there are other ideophones with the same phonological features in other syntactic categories, and absence of (*) implies that there are no other ideophones of

the same phonological features elsewhere. Glosses are not given, they are not essential and, in any case, it is difficult to give them without the citation of complete sentences.

Type A.I. (a)

(1) <u>C[̀]V[̀]V</u> (*)	(4) <u>C[̀]V[̀]C-C[̀]V[̀]C^R</u>	(9) <u>C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]-C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]^R</u>	mayaa-mayaa
buu	bul-bul	baja-baja	muzuu-muzuu
rii		faca-faca	ruguu-ruguu
	(5) <u>C[̀]V[̀]C-C[̀]V[̀]C^R</u>	fata-fata	rukkuu-rukkuu
(2) <u>C[̀]V[̀]C</u>	bal-bal	kaca-kaca	tsamoo-tsamoo
baw	bal-bal	kata-kata	tsuruu-tsuruu
daw	fal-fal	kwata-kwata	zakee-zakee
fir	kar-kar	kwatsa-kwatsa	zakoo-zakoo
gaw	zay-zay	laaba-laaba	zumuu-zumuu
shar		labo-labo	zuruu-zuruu
yar	(6) <u>C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]</u>	maza-maza	
	rigijaa	nasha-nasha	(11) <u>C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]-C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]^R (*)</u>
(3) <u>C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]C</u>		rugu-rugu	buyaa-buyaa
dukus	(7) <u>C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]</u>	sako-sako	hayaa-hayaa
firit	galahee		mayaa-mayaa
kacal	galahoo	(10) <u>C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]-C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]^R</u>	
limis	kasakee	buyaa-bayaa	(12) <u>C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]C-C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]^R</u>
murus		buzuu-buzuu	balaw-balaw
sharaf	(8) <u>C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]C[̀]V[̀]C[̀]V[̀]C</u>	cakoo-cakoo	bazam-bazam
simil	tangaran	dumuu-dumuu	bazar-bazar
tibis	tarmazay	duruu-duruu	falaw-falaw
tsigil		horoo-horoo	kazar-kazar
tilis		jinaa-jinaa	kayaw-kayaw
wayaw		kanee-kanee	washar-washar
			watsar-watsar

Type A.I. (b)

(1) <u>CVC</u> (*)	(6) <u>CVCVV</u>	(11) <u>CVVVCVC</u>	(13) <u>CVCVCV</u> ^(R)
cif	buyaa	maakil	bajaja
cik	bujaa	reeras	bazaza
fes		taatil	daβaβa
kam	(7) <u>CVCVC</u>		dalala
kam	zugum	(12) <u>CVCCVC</u>	falala
lif		binjim	kacaca
ram	(8) <u>CVCVC</u> (*)	birjik	malala
tsaf	kirin	cacak	nashasha
tsay	sibil	ɖandak	sadada
tsam	sidik	ɖandas	tsalala
tsit	sitik	ɖungum	tsululu
	silik	fantsam	tululu
(2) <u>CVC</u> (*)	tilik	jingim	tuduɖu
but	tukuf	kandam	tululu
wuf	wulik	kunzum	tururu
		kundum	
(3) <u>CVCV</u>	(9) <u>CVCVC</u> (*)	kurmus	(14) <u>CVCCVCVC</u>
maza	garaw	lambaw	bingirin
	sakat	sambal	firgigit
(4) <u>CVCVC</u>	saway	sintum	gurgujib
farat		tantsay	kengyaran
	(10) <u>CVCVC</u> (*)	tartay	kyangyaran
(5) <u>CVCVV</u>	fayaw	tarway	
horoo	gayaw	tsindum	
laβoo	hayaw		
lakoo	zalaw		
sakoo			
tsamoo			

Type A.II. (a)(1) CVV (*)

caa
fiiu
fuu
kii
kwaa
shaa
suu
yuu
zuu

(2) CVCCVC^R

damdam
kankam
kankam
tantam
tsantsam
kyalkyal

(4) CVCVV-CVCVV^R

kayaa-kayaa

(5) CVCVC-CVCVC^R

ɖakal-ɖakal
cakwal-cakwal

(6) CVCCVC-CVCCVC^R

ɖingis-ɖingis
tinkis-tinkis

(3) CVCVCVC

tuburan

Type A.II. (b)(1) CVC (*)

bat kaw
cur kwal
fal sal
kaw shar

(3) CVCVC

ɓashar sakwaf
kacar sharaf
katsam washar
kwaram watsar
kwatsam zakal

(4) CVCVCVC-CVCVCVC^R

buguzum-buguzum
bagazam-bagazam

(2) CVCVC

riris

Type B.I

This comprises only the single word kacibis (CVCVCVC)

Type B.II. (a)

(1) <u>CVCVCVC</u>	(2) <u>CVCVCVCVC</u>	(3) <u>CVC</u> (*)
sukutum	garandan	rak
		tak

Type B.II. (b)CVC (*)

fat, fil, kwal, wur, zir

- (i) Type A.I. (a) can function as 'Adjunct', can follow yí as object, and can follow yánàa .
- (ii) Type A.I. (b) can function as 'Adjunct', can follow yí as object, but cannot follow yánàa .

- (iii) Type A.II. (a) can function as Adjunct, cannot follow yí as object, but can follow yanaa .
- (iv) Type A.II. (b) can function as Adjunct, cannot follow yí as object, and cannot follow yánaa .
- (v) Type B.I cannot function as Adjunct, can follow yí as object, but cannot follow yánaa
- (vi) Type B.II. (a) cannot function as Adjunct, cannot follow yí as object, nor can they follow yánaa . They can only occur as post-Head Qualifier.
- (vii) Type B.II. (b) cannot function as Adjunct, cannot follow yí as object, nor can they follow yánaa . They cannot occur as post-Head Qualifier, but can only occur as second element of Adjectival Phrase (a).

APPENDIX B

THE TONES OF THE DEMONSTRATIVES

The tones of the Demonstrative Specifiers are largely semantically controlled, each item having different tone patterns associated with:

- (a) different meanings, viz.: deictic (demonstrative) or anaphoric (referential), and
- (b) position in relation to the speaker and person addressed.

This is shown in the following table, where di-form refers to cases where epenthetic element di is used, as described in Chapter 7 (7.18).

N	Lg. DEM.	SHORT DEMONSTRATIVE		<u>di-form</u>	MEANING
		H tone final	L tone final		
E A R	1 wánnàh	rīgá→ <u>n</u> nàh gàrí→ <u>n</u> nàh	dóokĩ→ <u>n</u> nán	dín nàh	this (near me) <u>deictic</u>
	2 wánnán	rīgá→ <u>n</u> nán gàrí→ <u>n</u> nán	dóokĩ→ <u>n</u> nán	dín nán	that (near you, or which we know about) <u>deictic</u> <u>anaphoric</u>
	3 wánnán				that(near you) <u>deictic</u>
F A R	4 wáccàh wáncàh	rīgá→ <u>c</u> càn gàrí→ <u>n</u> càn	dóokĩ→ <u>n</u> càn	dín càn	that (not near you or me) <u>deictic</u>
	5 wáccán wáncán	rīgá→ <u>c</u> càn gàrí→ <u>n</u> càn	dóokĩ→ <u>n</u> càn	dín càn	'that (right over there or which we are talking about) <u>deictic</u> <u>anaphoric</u>
	6 wáccán wáncán				that (not the near one) <u>deictic</u>

As shown in the table, in 1 and 4 the locative element (-nan and -can) has Low tone when the preceding vowel has High tone, but has Falling tone where the preceding vowel has Low tone.

In 2, 3, 5, and 6, the locative element has High tone in all cases.

The link element (-n/-c) has tone opposite to the tone of the locative element, that is:

- (a) it has High tone where the locative element has low tone,
and
- (b) it has low tone where the locative element has High or
falling tone.

These rules apply not only to the Short Demonstrative, but also to the di-form, and to the Long Demonstrative if analysed as consisting of wa- + link element + locative element.

APPENDIX CTHE GENDER OF HAUSA NOUNS⁽¹⁾

The following generalisations can be made about the gender of Hausa nouns, partly on the basis of their termination, and partly on the basis of the type to which they belong:

(A) Feminine nouns have the following structural, or other, features:

(i) Nouns ending in vowel -a/-aa are feminine, apart from certain exceptional nouns and strong Verbal nouns, which are masculine (see (C)iv below). e.g:

góonáa	= [farm-land]
gúndà	= [type of woodboring insect(s)]
móotàa	= [motor car, or lorry]
múrà	= [common cold]
tàwádàa	= [ink]

(ii) All nouns, without exception, having any of the following suffixes are feminine:

if

(1) This is, in effect, an amplification of the rules given in Abraham, and by F.W. Parsons.

<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
-íyáa	fálkíyáa	= woman itinerant trader
-íyáa	bàtúríyáa	= white woman
-níyáa	bàráuníyáa	= woman thief
-úwáa	tsúntsúwáa	= female bird
-ùwáa	gúrgùwáa	= lame woman

(iii) Some groups of nouns are feminine irrespective of their termination. These are the following:

(a) Proper names of female persons,⁽¹⁾ e.g:

Làaràbáa	Tàláatù
Kàndé	Jímmáí
Láadi	Innáu
Indóo	Táwál

(b) Proper names of countries, towns and rivers. e.g:

(1) Countries:

Gáanà	Tóogò
Dàhómè	Kàmàrú
Máalì	Sùudáàn

(2) Towns:

Kúurá	Dámáatúró
Ázàré	Ríirúwàí
Báucí	Ancàu
Kàndò	Wùdíí

(1) Here may be included the word màcè = [woman] (an allomorph of màatáa), though it is not a proper name.

(3) Rivers:

Néejà	Bùnsúurù
Gàagéerè	Bínúwàì
Wàtàrí	Misàu
Sákkwátó	Tóomàs

(c) Names of days of the week (probably by analogy with ráanáa = [day], which is feminine). e.g:

Asábàr	= [Saturday]	Tàláatàa	= [Tuesday]
Láhàdì	= [Sunday]	Làaràbáa	= [Wednesday]
Llitínfà	= [Monday]	Alhámis	= [Thursday]

(d) Names of times of the day. e.g:

wàlàháa	= [mid-morning]	sháà-bíyú	= [12 o'clock]
àzáhàr	= [early afternoon]	màgàribàa	= [sunset]

(e) The following nouns which include some loan words (possibly by analogy with Hausa words).:

ùngùrnú	= [hard potash]
àráadù	= [thunder]
áahù	= [$1\frac{1}{2}$]
làntàrkìi	= [electricity]
sóocì	= [vest]
kwàmítíi	= [committee]
gwámnátì	= [government]
ásibítì	= [hospital]
báaríkì	= [barracks]
tíitfísíì	= [T.T.C. (Teacher Training College)]
láabùráarèe	= [library]
màahóò	= [free gift]
méedìl	= [middle school]
bùllàn	= [a type of robe]

(B) The following nouns are feminine if the reference is to a female, but are masculine if the reference is to a male; in other words, they have Common Gender.:-

(i) Those ending in vowel -a/-aa :

ágòolà	= [stepchild]
bánzáa	= [useless (person)]
éeditàa	= [editor]
fàrkáa	= [paramour]
kádàaá	= [crocodile]
máasínjà	= [messenger]
kàakáa	= [grand-parent]
léebùrà	= [labourer]
líkítà	= [doctor]
sá'aa	= [(person) of about one's own age]
tálàkà	= [common person]

(ii) Those ending otherwise:

màagé	= [cat]	àkú	= [parrot]
báiní	= [a finch]	àyú	= [manatee]
tàlótàlò	= [turkey]	báa'ú	= [a finch]
ùngùlú	= [vulture]		

(C) Masculine nouns have the following structural, or other features:

(i) Nouns ending in anything other than vowel -a/-aa are masculine. These are the following:

<u>Termination</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
-ée	láabúlée	= curtain(s)
-èè	záurèè	= entrance-porch
-íi	àbóokíi	= friend
-ìi	hádarìi	= rain-cloud
-óo	bàakóo	= guest
-òo	cíiwòo	= illness
-úu	hánnúu	= hand
-ùu	sàabúlùu	= soap
-ái	fáifái	= dish covering mat
-âi	kîndâi	= laundry basket
-áu	tsîidáu	= tsidau-weed
-àu	táutàu	= spider
-âu	kýâu	= beauty
-ùr	téebùr	= table
-C	táawùl	= towel
	kwâf	= cup
	kwál	= coal
	kyáàt	= cake

(ii) Proper names of male persons irrespective of their terminations are masculine. e.g:

Bàlâa	Chîndò
Màahé	Audù
Síntàlì	Mámmàn

(iii) Names of the months of the year are masculine, probably by analogy with wátàa = [month], which is masculine. e.g:

Tágón-Fáarkóo	=	[the 3rd month]
Gàmbón-Wátàa	=	[the 5th month]
Rájàb	=	[the 7th month]
Ràmàláanà	=	[the 9th month]

(iv) The exceptional nouns ending in vowel -a/-aa referred to in (A)i above. These include:

(a) the following nouns:

àdàdà	=	[rectangular hut]
àkàrà	=	[biscuit]
báabáa	=	[indigo]
bàkàa	=	[bow]
bàakàa	=	[a circular mat]
báawàa	=	[slave]
bǎayáa	=	[back]
cìnnàakàa	=	[biting ant]
dáatàa	=	[tomato solanum]
dáawàa	=	[corn]
dúmáa	=	[cucurbitaceae]
fáatáa	=	[hope]
gàbáa	=	[front]
gáutáa	=	[tomato solanum (bitter)]
gírmáa	=	[bigness]
gídáa	=	[house]
gùdáa	=	[lump]
gùugáa	=	[well-bucket]

gòoráa	= [gourd]
káráa	= [stalk]
káatáa	= [small, shallow calabash]
káayáa	= [loads]
kúmfáa	= [foam]
kúunàa	= [heat]
kúdáa	= [fly]
láadáa	= [wages, reward]
màamǎ	= [breast]
náamàa	= [meat]
rúwáa	= [water]
sàndáa	= [stick]
sáuráa	= [residue]
sũunáa	= [name]
tsúufáa	= [becoming old]
tsũmmáa	= [rags]
wùyáa	= [difficulty]
wátàa	= [moon]
yǎatsàa	= [finger]

and (b) some Strong Verbal Dynamic Nouns, including the following:

dúukàa	= [beating]
fádàa	= [quarrel]
gyáaráa	= [repair]
hàukáa	= [madness]
káalá	= [gleaning]
kídàa	= [drumming]
kúukáa	= [crying]
kwáanàa	= [spending the night]
néemáa	= [searching]

nóomáa	=	[farming]
tàllà	=	[displaying (wares) for sale].
wàasáa	=	[playing]
yánkáa	=	[cutting]

(v) The pre-object and pre-dative forms of Weak Verbal Dynamic Nouns. e.g:

(1) káamà = [catching], as in:

(i) káamà mǎcǐjǐi yǎa yí wùyáa?
[can catching snake be^a difficult thing
(to do) ?]

(ii) káamàa shí yǎa yí wùyáa ?
[can catching it be a difficult
thing (to do) ?]

(iii) káamàa mǎsà mǎcǐjǐi yǎa yí wùyáa?
[can catching a snake for him be
a difficult thing (to do) ?]

(2) káshè = [killing], as in:

(i) káshè mǎcǐjǐi yǎa yí wùyáa ?
[can killing a snake be a difficult
thing (to do) ?]

(ii) káshèe shí yǎa yí wùyáa ?
[can killing it be a difficult thing
(to do) ?]

(iii) káshèe mǎsà mǎcǐjǐi yǎa yí wùyáa ?
[can killing a snake for him be
a difficult thing (to do) ?]